HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXVII, No. 26 Copyright 1967 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC. July 1, 1967 35¢

Would Improve Russian Missiles

Administration Weighs Sending Reds Valuable Instrument

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The United States government, it is now disclosed, was prepared early this year to assist Russia in improving the accuracy of its guided missiles.

In pursuance of President Johnson's program for "an enlarged partnership" with the Communist bloc, the Commerce Department approved an export license for shipment to an Iron Curtain site of a unique American scientific instrument, concededly of vital military value in missile warfare.

At the request of intelligence agencies, the shipment has been delayed but it remains "under consideration" and government officials are still arguing that it should be authorized.

The alertness of Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R.-S.D.) led to revelation of this seemingly incredible incident. Not much can jolt Mundt, who has spent nearly 30 years in Congress, often playing a leading role in investigations of espionage, scandal and corruption in government. But he was understandably shocked in this instance.

To Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) must go much credit for uncovering this trade plan.

On June 6 he spotted, on a list of export licenses approved by the Commerce Department, the scheduled shipment to Poland of a "gravity meter" valued at $10,200.

On the surface and to the layman's eye, the item seemed innocent enough. It was a "geodetic instrument," sought by the Institute of Geodesy and Cartography in Warsaw, allegedly for use in connection with "a geodetic mapping project, sponsored by the International Association of Geodesy." Geodesy is a branch of applied mathematics used to measure large portions of the earth's surface and variations of terrestrial gravity and magnetism.

Mundt's suspicions were aroused, however, and he fired off a letter demanding complete information on the nature of the instrument and its "military application," if any. Some geodetic instruments of exceptional accuracy, he noted, could furnish data of value to "guided missile trajectory determinations." What was this one's accuracy in terms of milligals? If it could, in fact, be used for military purposes, what was the Commerce Department's rationale for granting the export license?

The answer, on June 13, was apologetic, defensive and highly revealing. Rauer H. Meyer, director, Office of Export Control, reported that the instrument was a "Worden type gravity meter" with a reading accuracy of 0.01 milligals. Since a milligal is a unit of acceleration which approximates one-millionth of the normal acceleration of gravity at the earth's surface, the instrument's accuracy is almost beyond human comprehension, far beyond the needs of "geodetic mapping."

The Worden type gravity meter, in fact, can be made nowhere else in the world but in the United States. Made of quartz fibers, its manufacture demands such technical skill that fewer than a dozen experts, all Americans, can make one. The major purpose of a device of this accuracy is to provide data for guided missile trajectory determinations.

An early model test rocket in the U.S. anti-missile program streaks skyward. Even as the Russians are rushing to perfect their missile defenses, the LBJ Administration is pondering the sale of a "black box" that would improve the Soviets' missile accuracy.

Each missile carries its own guidance system. Measurement of the force of gravity is essential to the accuracy of directional instruments built into these systems. The Worden meter, with its unequaled capacity for measuring the force of gravity, provides data for perfecting the guidance system, thus making the missile more certain of reaching its target.

Meyer conceded that such instruments were, indeed, "a source of data of value" in missile systems. In fact, he reported the license approved on February 1 had been withdrawn February 16 at the request of "intelligence sources." Shipment of the meter to Poland had been held up.

However, he wrote Mundt, "currently the license is pending further consideration." He offered arguments in support of its approval. Present military emphasis in the missile field, he asserted, is on seaborne inertial navigation and the Worden meter could be used only on land.

He also suggested that comparable Russian instruments were available in Poland, causing Mundt to wonder why the Communists were so anxious to obtain a made-in-America type. The answer, an expert said, is that the Worden meter is truly matchless.

At times, Mundt commented wonderingly, the Cold War takes on a dreamlike if not nightmare quality. Trading with the enemy—once deemed indefensible—continues to command Administration support despite evidence that Russia supplies most of the war materials to North Viet Nam and armed the Arab states for their effort to drive Israel into the sea.

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NEWSPAPER

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Past volumes of *Human Events* on microfilm available directly from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Reprinted bound volumes, 1960 and prior, available directly from Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

Human Events cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Human Events*.

Human Events **is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon below).**

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

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● **Nelson Rockefeller** says he's out of the 1968 presidential contest—but his aides are telling a different story. Two Rocky agents have been buttonholing bigwig Republican conservatives and saying that Rockefeller's support of George Romney is only a stopgap strategy and promising that if Rocky gets the GOP nomination he'll do his best to get Ronald Reagan to take the second spot.

● A foretaste of things to come in the senior Republican party? Jack McDonald, a conservative Tennesseean, easily defeated liberal Jim Betts of Ohio for chairman of the **Young Republican National Federation**. Held in Omaha, the YR convention also revealed its conservative colors when the delegates whooped it up for Ronald Reagan. "It isn't clear yet whether Reagan has replaced Barry Goldwater as first in the hearts of the YRs," noted one reporter on the scene, "but it's beginning to look that way."

● Also at that Young Republican convention, former Sen. **Barry Goldwater** said he currently supports Richard Nixon as the GOP presidential nominee, but if Nixon fails to receive the nod he would back Reagan "with everything we have."

● Insiders don't really believe that **Richard Nixon** wants New York's Mayor John—"I won't parade for America's GIs"—Lindsay as the vice presidential candidate—despite a story to that effect in the New York Times. Nixon's real choice for the VP spot, it is said, is Gov. Raymond Shafer of Pennsylvania.

● **Otto Otepka** received unexpected support last week when the American Civil Liberties Union denounced State Department efforts to conduct his hearings in secrecy. Lawrence Speiser, director of the ACLU's Washington office, said that Otepka's constitutional rights were being infringed by the government attempts to bar the press from the hearings.

● Michigan's Gov. **George Romney**, his popularity already slipping, suffered another setback last week as the GOP-controlled Michigan Legislature rejected his income tax package. Romney thereupon cancelled several out-of-state appearances, including a scheduled address before the Young Republican National Federation in Omaha. But observers think he had another reason for not showing up in Omaha: The YR convention was virtually a Reagan-for-President rally and Romney decided he couldn't buck the competition.

● Sen. **John Williams** (R.-Del.) reveals that five farmers last year pocketed more than $1 million in federal funds not to plant crops. Eleven farming operations were awarded between $500,000 and $1 million and 258 others between $100,000 and $500,000. The Louisiana State Penitentiary was given $92,135 not to plant crops and the Arkansas State Pen $122,090. The Texas Department of Corrections was also classified as a farmer and given $288,911 to refrain from planting.

● The Chicago Sun-Times is now running articles on Viet Nam by **Felix Greene**, identifying him only as a "British journalist" who has authored "a book critical of the war. . . ." In actual fact, Greene has been a long-time Communist sympathizer, having published tracts, films, etc., favoring Red China and the Soviet Union.

● Democrats and Republicans alike last week accused anti-poverty officials of painting a rosy but distorted picture of their operations. "I'm getting a little weary of this snow job," Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.) told "War on Poverty" boss **Sargent Shriver.** "You people pile propaganda to the skies," added Rep. Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.). "But you don't answer our questions."

● Up for re-election next year, Sen. **George McGovern** (D.-S.D.) insisted last week on the Senate floor that a unified Viet Nam under North Vietnamese Premier Ho Chi Minh would present no danger to the free world. Indeed, said McGovern, a unified Viet Nam under the Communist Ho "might well have established a buffer zone between Communist China and the West."

● William K. Shearer, 36, who is on the payroll of **George Wallace's headquarters** in Montgomery, Ala., has announced the formation in California of the American Independent party, which plans to run the former governor for President. Shearer, whose organization is frowned on by Gov. Ronald Reagan, a favorite-son candidate, must get at least 66,059 voter signatures by next January 20 to qualify his party for listing on the ballot.

● The U.S. ambassador to Egypt, Richard Nolte, arrived in Cairo the day before Nasser closed the Gulf of Aqaba. Asked by newsmen at the airport about the **Mideast crisis,** the American envoy responded, "What crisis?" According to correspondent Thomas Fenton of the Baltimore Sun, "even after the crisis had erupted and the Middle East stood on the brink of war, officials in Washington were still pooh-poohing talk of a crisis."

● Leaders of the **Student "Non-Violent" Coordinating Committee** continue to foment violence. Ralph Featherstone, SNCC's fiery program director, toured Atlanta's racially tense ghetto last week, imploring Negroes to take to the streets. Featherstone attacked as "black traitors" Negro teen-agers who cooperated with the police. "These mercenaries will be dealt with in a manner we see fit," Featherstone said ominously.

● The usually mild-mannered Sen. Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio) last week called for the firing of Capitol "Architect" **J. George Stewart.** The Ohio solon accused Stewart (who is not an architect) of "inexplainable, indefensible and unjustified spending of tax money" in remaking Capitol Hill in his image. A committee of the prestigious American Institute of Architects recently assailed Stewart's plans for a $75-million addition to the Library of Congress.

● Rep. John Duncan (R.-Tenn.) reports that his constituents are less than happy with the Johnson Administration. The Tennessee lawmaker polled his district and discovered overwhelming opposition to such pet **"Great Society" projects** as the "War on Poverty" and trade with the enemy. Only 6 per cent of the voters supported the Administration's Viet Nam policy, with 72 per cent favoring a stepped-up offensive to secure victory.

● House Republican leader Gerald R. Ford argued last week that **Red China's H-bomb** explosion should rule out further delay in U.S. deployment of an anti-missile defense. "I don't think we should hesitate further," Ford told newsmen.

● The recent election of Dr. Milford Owen Rouse as president of the **American Medical Association** is viewed as an effort to increase the AMA's fight against governmental infringement in the field of medicine.

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End of Neighborhood Schools?

"Right now, in fact, what could well turn out to be a momentous case involving school desegregation is being heard in the District of Columbia before Judge J. Skelly Wright, a member of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Wright is to rule on a complaint about Washington schools—especially de facto segregation—filed by Negro militant Julius Hobson . . . a decision in favor of Hobson would wreak havoc with the neighborhood school system as Americans know it today.

HOBSON

"Wright, moreover, is not incapable of rendering such a fateful ruling. In fact, his liberal bias on the subject is so pronounced that many lawyers think he should disqualify himself from hearing the present case. They quote a startling attack on de facto segregation that Wright delivered to the New York University School of Law in February 1965 in which he said:

" 'It is inconceivable that the Supreme Court will sit idly by watching Negro children crowded into inferior slum schools while the whites flee to the suburbs to place their children in vastly superior, predominantly white schools.' Suggesting that the courts should block these maneuvers, Wright then assaulted the neighborhood school system.

" 'Initially,' he remarked, 'public school authorities must be cured of the neighborhood school syndrome.' Neighborhood schools, he affirmed, are just not geared to '20th Century education.' "

Those words—appearing in our Sept. 24, 1966, issue (page 3)—proved all too prophetic as last week Wright handed down his astonishing ruling that de facto school segregation—segregation resulting from residential patterns—is unconstitutional.

In a sweeping 183-page opinion, Wright enjoined racial and economic segregation and ordered that children in Negro neighborhood schools be bused to schools in white neighborhoods at public expense.

(Ironically, Wright's ruling was handed down almost simultaneously with the release of the findings of a District school study made by Dr. A. Harry Passow of Columbia University Teachers College, New York City. Dr. Passow insisted that busing or any other method to achieve integration when only 10 per cent of the students are white was absurd and amounted to token integration at its worst.)

Wright also: ruled the track system of grouping students according to their ability was "unconstitutional"; called for individual schools to integrate their faculties, and found "great appeal" in requiring each school to have a proportion of white and Negro teachers equal to the proportion of Negroes and whites in the entire school district. He ordered abolished six optional zones where students can choose among two or more schools because of the "free choice" it gave to white students to avoid going to heavily Negro schools.

Wright's opinion fell short of ordering into effect the most controversial remedy proposed by Hobson, that the court enforce the merger of the largely Negro city school system with those of Washington's predominantly white suburban school jurisdictions in Maryland and Virginia.

The Wright verdict has extraordinary implications. "This decision," noted the Chicago *Tribune,* "if upheld by the Supreme Court, would destroy the neighborhood school policy."

One of Hobson's lawyers, Bill Higgs, who also represents the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, remarked: "Ironically, Judge Wright's decision could have a stronger meaning for other parts of the country than it has for the District."

He said that because of the District's overwhelmingly Negro school population and the fact it is an entity surrounded by two states, remedies are limited. "But in every major city in the country—Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles—you name it—this means school districts have a constitutional obligation to eliminate [de facto] racial balance."

If the decision is appealed to the Supreme Court and is sustained, it could also prove the basis for countless suits throughout the country attacking track systems, optional zones, teacher assignment, distribution of educational resources and all aspects of the neighborhood school system.

As pointed out in our September article, an all-out assault is being made against the neighborhood schools under the Johnson Administration. Harold Howe, an avowed enemy of the concept, is in charge of federal aid to education programs; the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Housing and Urban Development have drafted plans to eliminate the neighborhood school system; and now the federal courts have gotten into the act.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

If the Wright case reaches the Supreme Court, it will be interesting to see how this body, newly packed with civil rights militant Thurgood Marshall, will rule.

• In Illinois last week the state supreme court declared unconstitutional a 1963 law requiring school boards to make periodic school boundary changes to insure racial balance. In voiding the act the court said programs to create equal education opportunities must be administered without regard to race and held that the law violated the principle that the state must be racially neutral.

"Just as the neutral principle of free speech protects speech which may or may not be socially desirable," the court said, "so also does the principle prohibiting racial discrimination in public education prevent this type of legislation regardless of the General Assembly's purpose."

RAM's Revolutionaries

Authorities in New York and Philadelphia last week arrested 16 Black Nationalists in connection with an alleged Communist conspiracy to assassinate Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and other moderate civil rights leaders. Some 35 other potential participants in the plot were believed at large in the New York area.

Police said the 12 men and four women were members of the Revolutionary Action Movement, a Maoist group first exposed in *Human Events* several years ago. Some authorities believe RAM may have as many as 1,000 members nationwide.

According to affidavits submitted by police, RAM is directed from Peking, and "teaches, advocates, advises and plans, by writing and word of mouth, the murder of various members of the Negro race whom it considers to be in opposition to its own principles."

Queens District Attorney Thomas Mackell, who helped direct the raid, later said that RAM "intended the assassination not only of Negro leaders but of white leaders, too."

Authorities arrested an assistant public school principal, a "group leader" for a federally financed anti-poverty project, a Guinean "exchange student," and a former Navy Department employe with access to classified documents. Police seized a veritable arsenal, including a machine gun, carbines and rifles with telescopic sights, blackjacks, more than 1,000 rounds of ammunition, binoculars, walkie-talkies—and almost 275 packets of heroin.

Among those arrested was RAM's field chairman, Max Stanford, a fiery Black Nationalist who has called for "organized violence" to seize government control. RAM's "chairman-in-exile" is Robert Franklin Williams, a self-proclaimed Communist who fled the United States when sought for kidnapping six years ago. Williams went first to Cuba and then to China and reportedly directs RAM activities from Peking.

New York police have kept RAM leaders under intensive surveillance for several years. Two years ago they arrested three Black Nationalists in a terrorist plot to destroy the Statue of Liberty and other national shrines. The trio, each of whom was subsequently convicted, belonged to the Black Liberation Front, a RAM "front."

RAM leaders have spelled out their plans for violent revolution. As RAM's official publication, *Black America,* proclaimed: "When war breaks out in the country, if the action is directed toward taking over institutions of power and 'complete annihilation of the racist capitalist oligarchy,' then the black revolution will be successful. . . . The revolution will 'strike by night and spare none.' Mass riots will occur in the day with the Afro-Americans blocking traffic, burning buildings, etc. Thousands of Afro-Americans will be in the street fighting: for they will know that this is it."

• RAM is by no means the only revolutionary organization operating in the United States. A group of white New Yorkers recently formed the Revolutionary Contingent, an organization dedicated to the destruction of U.S. "imperialism." "Spokesmen" for the Revolutionary Contingent include Dr. Allen Krebs, head of New York's Free School, and Walter D. Teague III, who heads a group that raises money for the Viet Cong.

The Revolutionary Contingent believes in "guerrilla" strikes within the United States—"fast, destructive actions from which the perpetrators escape." It also hopes to recruit U.S. leftists for revolutionary movements in other countries. "Those with certain skills—medical, electronic, chemical, mechanical, etc.—will prove useful to the guerrillas," according to the Revolutionary Contingent's bulletin. "Applicants should understand that in addition to the use of their specialized skills, they will also be engaged in combat."

Lindsay Rebuffed

New York City Mayor John Lindsay has suffered a stinging setback at the hands of Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) in a battle for control of the Bronx Republican organization.

Fino's candidates won all four district leadership contests in which they were challenged by insurgents, three of them Lindsayites. As a result of the primary, Fino now controls nine of the Bronx's 12 Assembly districts; Lindsay controls two and another anti-Fino leader controls one.

The peppery Fino, who was the only congressional candidate in New York City to win with Conservative party backing in 1966, was jubilant: "The results are a sad commentary on the Lindsay organization," Fino exclaimed. "With all its money and gang of workers at City Hall, they could not capture control of one district. We have heard of the Lindsay appeal. I ask this question, Where is it? The 'fun' mayor's days in City Hall and politics are numbered."

What Fino found particularly ironic in his battle is that Lindsay, whose campaign slogan is "clean government," was working hand in glove with Frazier Davidson in the 78th Assembly District. Davidson, however, finds it awkward to take up the "clean government" slogan.

According to the Clerk's office of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York State for the First Judicial District, Lindsay's Frazier Davidson was admitted to the New York Bar on Nov. 30, 1953, but disbarred on Jan. 30, 1962, for peddling phony divorce decrees. According to papers filed with the office, Davidson had been charged with advising a married couple that they could obtain a divorce in South Carolina without an appearance in the state. In furtherance of this plan, he had them sign papers with allegations as to residence which he knew to be false.

At a hearing Davidson categorically denied the material facts. Later he recanted his testimony, admitted the facts and revealed his efforts to conceal the truth, including efforts to dissuade his former clients from testifying against him.

GOP Conservative Caucus Looms

In the wake of the issuance of a significant study by the American Conservative Union, headed by Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), House Republicans may soon be forming a conservative caucus—hopefully to be patterned after the House GOP's liberal "Wednes-

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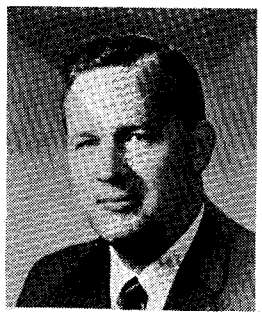
day Club" or the powerful Democratic Study Group of 140 or so House liberals.

Contained in a recent ACU report revealing how a small number of liberal Republicans has enabled the Democrats to pass "Great Society" legislation through Congress is the proposal to form a "conservative caucus."

Such a group, says the ACU, may be the most effective proposal to assure that Republicans in the House will continue to remain as "champions of a conservative philosophy of government."

The conservative caucus, says the ACU, "should attract wide, geographic representation and might be headed by some of the activist conservative Republicans who now must operate alone." Limited to their own staff resources, individual conservative Republicans have no effective and unified means of presenting their views. "Obviously," the ACU report continues, "a conservative counterpart of the liberal Wednesday Club could do much to put forward the majority GOP view on current issues and impress upon Republican House leaders the willingness of the majority of House Republicans to cooperate with them in promoting sound Republican programs. Serving as a counterweight to the Wednesday Club staff, a group of talented young conservative writers and experienced professionals could be assembled and financed. . . .

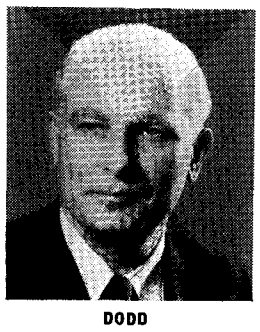

ASHBROOK

"Operating with a competent research staff, this group could formulate specific proposals on such major issues as trade with Communist nations, extension of the numerous 'Great Society' programs, reassertion of the rights and revenue sources of the individual state, and a general cutback in the enormous federal budget."

The idea has apparently caught on with a number of GOP lawmakers, including Representatives H. R. Gross (Iowa), Robert Dole (Kan.), Bill Brock (Tenn.) and many others. The creation of such an organization, it is believed, could stymie LBJ's spending projects in their tracks.

The Dodd Censure

As the Senate moved toward some form of verbal reprimand of Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) last week, there was a growing feeling on the part of many observers that the Connecticut Democrat would still be able to serve as an effective lawmaker no matter what chastisement the senators decided to impose. For it became clear, as Dodd unfolded his case before his colleagues, that many senators—even those who would vote for censure—believed the senator was not so much guilty of deception as carelessness. Developing among the lawmakers, also, was an increasing unease about the severity of the charges leveled against Dodd by the Senate Ethics Committee. And troubling the minds of many of the lawyers in the Senate was the fact that much of the information against Dodd had come from some 4,000 documents that had been lifted from his office.


DODD

"How many of us could not be made to look guilty if someone stole 4,000 documents from our offices?" was a common theme.

The committee had unanimously recommended censuring Dodd on two counts—double billing and converting money allegedly raised for political purposes to private use. But there was outright skepticism from some senators regarding the committee's charges.

Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.), for example, was among one of many who felt the Ethics Committee had erred when it seriously implied that Dodd on seven different occasions over a seven-year period had purposely double-billed both private and government organizations for the same trip. Sen. Edward Brooke (R.-Mass.) wondered why, if Dodd had been so "hungry for money," he had failed to collect on 21 trips for which the government actually owed Dodd. Brooke left the implication the double-billing —like the failure to collect—had occurred from sloppy bookkeeping rather than a deliberate intent to defraud.

The majority of senators clearly felt it was improper for Dodd to raise money for his private usage from testimonial dinners, but it was conceded by members of the Ethics Committee that there is no law or rule against this. Furthermore, there was considerable doubt as to whether Dodd, as Sen. John Stennis, chairman of the Ethics Committee, charged, had disguised these dinners as strictly campaign or political fund-raising affairs.

The solicitation letter for the 1961 testimonial, for instance, stressed the dinner was a "nonpartisan tribute" and nowhere refers to either past or future campaigns. Some of the other testimonial solicitation letters were "less clean," but the allegation that Dodd had deceived those who contributed to the testimonials into believing he would use the funds for solely political reasons was far from clear.

Sen. Brooke, one of Dodd's biggest defenders, zeroed in on what some said was the critical deficiency of the charge. The former attorney general of Massachussetts noted that the Connecticut Democrat had produced over 400 affidavits from donors saying, in effect, they had not been defrauded and, so far as they knew, the money was to be used in any way Dodd saw fit.

Brooke added: " . . . no witness appeared before the [Ethics] committee who testified that he had contributed his money for political purposes." He continued: " . . . it seems to me that the Senate must base its findings on the evidence, not on conjecture, nor on circumstantial evidence that is presented to it. Certainly there must be a presumption of innocence in favor of Sen. Dodd. It is my opinion that the burden of proof is upon the Ethics Committee. . . ."

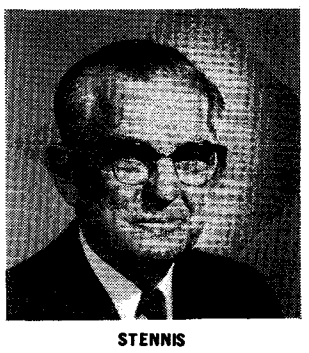
Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) also came to Dodd's defense. Thurmond emphasized that he does not approve of a person "using testimonial dinners to raise funds for personal expenses." But he maintained he couldn't vote for censure because, "after giving due consideration to the entire record and to the debate on the floor, I feel that Sen. Dodd did not intend to engage in deceptive practices." Only one person has indicated he was deceived by the testimonials, said Thurmond, "in spite of the fact that strenuous efforts were made by the committee to obtain information on this point."

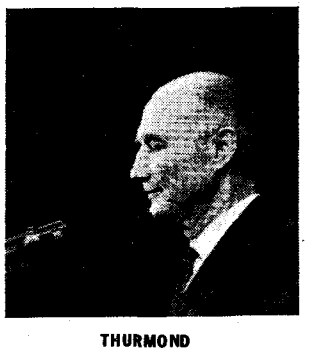
Most senators, however, were not convinced by the Brooke-Thurmond reasoning. They maintained that most persons invited to a testimonial dinner for a politician—particularly one at which Lyndon Johnson or Hubert Humphrey is the speaker—assume that the fund-raising is for political purposes. They felt that Dodd and the dinner sponsors did nothing to disabuse them of this notion, that they did not tell the donors that the money was going to Dodd personally for him to spend however he saw fit.

Also, those voting for censure were not impressed with the fact that only one man asked for his money back, claiming he was misled into believing he was making a political donation. A large majority of senators felt it was very unrealistic to think that Connecticut Democrats who attended the dinners and who want to remain friendly with the party would now come forward and charge that their state's senior senator had defrauded them.

On another aspect of the case, Sen. Thurmond declared that Sen. Dodd had "suffered from prejudgment by the press and by television on extraneous charges which were not even considered by the Committee on Standards and Conduct. . . . There has seldom been such a case of malicious slander in the history of this nation. . . ." (As if to prove Thurmond's words, reporters in the Senate Press Gallery last week groaned "No!" when Thurmond decided to speak up for Dodd prior to a pending motion. "Why 'No'?" snapped Thurmond. "Why do we hear 'no' from the press gallery? Do we want to convict this man without a fair hearing?")

"Whatever the outcome of this [censure] resolution," said Thurmond, "who can forget the courage and persistence of Tom Dodd in warning this nation about the dangers to our national security and to the free world that there were imminent revolutionary situations in Cuba, Laos, Ghana and Berlin? . . . Who can ignore his steady fortitude in exposing Communist connections of various domestic peace-propaganda organizations, and in first ripping the mask from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, one of whose members eventually assassinated John Fitzgerald Kennedy? What about the Tom Dodd who stood boldly for the rights of this body to receive evidence and testimony of malfeasance in the executive branch by keeping open the case of Otto Otepka? . . .


STENNIS


THURMOND

"I have said that I do not condone the carelessness and improvidence of the senator's course of conduct . . . [but] I shall leave the judgment of his personal conduct to the court of last resort—the voters of the state of Connecticut."

SDS Convention

The radical Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which openly admits that Communists are active within its ranks, is holding its national convention this week at the University of Michigan.

Workshops are scheduled with the emphasis on anti-war and anti-draft activities, along with the usual leftist "concern" over the civil rights question, the poor and, of course, sex and drugs. Notably, SDS organizers have not included the explosive Mideast situation; some Eastern SDS chapters are up in arms about the Soviet support of the Arab states against Israel. New Left watchers are predicting a possible open split on the question since many of the young rebels have Jewish backgrounds.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has noted that SDS is "a militant youth group which receives support from the Communist party and which in turn supports Communist objectives and tactics." Communist party General Secretary Gus Hall has been quoted as saying SDS is an organization the party has "going for us."

SDS bigwigs include admitted Communist Bettina Aptheker, daughter of Herbert Aptheker, chief theoretician of the Communist party; and Thomas Hayden, one of the SDS founders. Both Herbert Aptheker and Hayden recently visited North Viet Nam as guests of Ho Chi Minh and returned with vituperative comments about the U.S. conduct of the war.

On the home front, SDS's main interest has been the fomenting of anti-draft sentiment, especially among high schoolers, and it has gone so far as to propose actual disruption of draft procedures. Columnist Robert S. Allen reports how Mark Kleiman, a high school dropout who is an SDS organizer in California, suggests various ways of "messing up draft boards":

"You have the right to see the file your board has on you if you make an appointment. Under most circumstances, there is nothing to prevent you from absconding with . . . your file. It is possible to register people who do not exist. You can get a photostat (of a birth certificate for a deceased individual) . . . go to a draft board and register under a false name and address. The fun ensues when this mythical person does not respond to any mail, and fails to report for a physical or induction.

"It is possible to fake a IV-F without using drugs to wreck yourself. You could go to a doctor and complain of ulcer symptoms. . . . He will tell you to come back for an X-ray. The night before the X-ray, take some peanut butter, roll it into a ball one-quarter inch in diameter, and leave it out to harden overnight. The next day swallow it just a few minutes before the X-ray. It will show up in your stomach as a duodenal ulcer. . . .

"At the physical itself, you could keep a straight pin on the inside of your shorts, and prick your finger lightly when asked for a urine sample, so that a drop of blood becomes mixed with your urine, which would look very much like kidney trouble."

Such is the benevolent advice being handed out by the Students for a Democratic Society.

Findley Replies

• *Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.) writes that it is "an absolute falsehood" that he has come out for the recognition of Red China and trade with that Communist country as a "favor to Lyndon Johnson." No Administration spokesman, he insists, "has ever suggested that I adopt or support a certain position to get approval of a federal aid project. I don't like swaps like that. To illustrate, I recently opposed the Model Cities bill even though my biggest city had an application pending." Findley's reply referred to an item we carried in our June 3 issue that a high-ranking Republican insisted he (Findley) had taken his Red China stand as a favor to the President.*

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Let's Change U.S. Posture

Why should we try to be everybody's pal?

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

The time may have arrived when the American people should quit trying to be so puppy-dog friendly to the world and assume a more dignified posture of "correctness."

Americans are, perhaps, the friendliest people on earth. Part of it comes from our bigness and isolation. At home we see few foreigners. An alien accent intrigues us. In any erudite cocktail party the crowd is generally thickest around the foreign visitor.

We have, for a long time, suffered from a missionary guilt complex. It's an interesting combination of smugness and concern. We are proud of the "American way." We feel sure that our outlooks and techniques are superior to those of most other countries. We would like to share our wisdom. Hence, the missionary. On the other hand, we are easily guilt-ridden because of our relative opulence. So we give, often lavishly.

Our British cousins in their great days were somewhat like us, but not much. They were eloquently and sometimes arrogantly proud of the Empire. They wept a little for the heathen. They had their heroic missionaries and teachers who went forth into the pools of ignorance and fever to discourage infanticide,

Despite our massive aid to Egypt's Nasser, he continues to spread the lie that U.S. and British planes intervened in the recent Mideast crisis.

stop cannibalism and outlaw suttee. But hard on their heels came the flag and the traders.

As the Basuto chief bitterly told one of my old anthropology professors: "When the white man came here he had the Bible and we had the land. Now we've got the Bible and he's got the land."

Among the more recent colonial powers you might classify, in descending order of humanity, the French, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Germans and the Japanese. The Russians were never well enough organized in the 18th and 19th Centuries to seize distant lands from primitive peoples. But in their conquest and treatment of the European satellites they would go to the bottom of the list.

Only the Americans were haunted by their strength and nervous about their prosperity. Only the Americans set forth wistfully to make the world love them.

Funny thing. The Israelis bombed a U.N. force in the Gaza Strip and nine Indian and two Brazilian soldiers were killed. The diplomats in the U.N. Security Council all tried to top each other in expressions of regret and grief. But 54,000 Americans died in what was billed as an official U.N. action in Korea. How much weeping did the United Nations do for our boys?

There is the human inclination to make the friend of your enemy your enemy. All of our largess to India was forgotten the moment we gave arms to Pakistan. And the Pakistanis damned us for our aid to India.

For many years Americans tried to make themselves loved in the Near East. The American University of Beirut has educated generations of Arab leaders. We were lavish with Fulbright scholarships. We poured tremendous aid funds into Arab nations, including those whose oil-rich sheiks bought Cadillacs by the shipload and rented whole hotels in Switzerland.

But because America had promoted Israel we were hated. And when Gamal Abdel Nasser, in the bleak early hours of June 6, tried to alibi the collapse of his air force by claiming that American and British planes had shot it down, the whole Near East bought it immediately. Mobs converged on the American embassies. The American libraries went up in flames. Arab nation after Arab nation, whose leaders must have known better, severed relations with thunderous anger. In a few hours we became the official scapegoat of all the snafued Arab world.

Maybe we ought to relax. Maybe we should quit trying to be loved. Maybe we should assume that we will be spit on. America is a complacent dragon, a fine breast on which to beat with wooden swords and have one's picture taken standing on its back. Hatred of it is a huge convenience for the government which is entangled in its own stupidity.

So be it. If we expect to be hated we will be freer to do intelligent things. We won't have to keep shoring up corrupt regimes in the hope that they will become reliable friends. We can spend our foreign aid more wisely. We can seal off some famous rat holes.

We can say, "Look, your excellency. Your mob burnt our free library, which happens to be the biggest and best in your country. If you want it back, jail the leaders and build us a building. We'll just replace the books."

Or, "See here, your highness. We figure you'll gut us the first time it's convenient, but in the meantime we'd like to help your people. If you've got a sound plan and a way to keep your gang from cracking the safe we may bankroll it."

This kind of talk will make more sense to more people than our past habit of turning the other cheek with a sickly grin. Everybody's pal—hell! It just didn't work. Let's be stiffly correct for a change, and maybe they'll conclude we're not so crazy after all.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles *Times*)

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OF PEANUTS AND FEATHERS— "Keeping up with matters of importance, you will be interested in knowing that in the month of March the federal government built up its stockpile of shelled peanuts by 11,183,805 pounds—for a total of 95,586,938 pounds. Meanwhile, it reduced its supply of feathers by 124,650 pounds. The present amount on hand is a mere 2,922,172 pounds. The worry quotient about all this may keep only peanut and feather people awake at night."—From the Nashville *Banner*

BOOM! ZIZ! BANG POW!

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is not just a long weekend of firecrackers, parades, picnics, hot dogs, beer, soda pop and highway accidents.

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Investigation Needed

Freeman Lobbies With Tax Dollars

From the Nashville *Banner*

Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman's use of tax dollars and more than 80,000 federal employes to lobby for retention of the nation's outmoded, costly farm sudsidy program should be thoroughly investigated by Congress.

It is the third time in two years that Mr. Freeman has used the money and manpower of that giant federal agency known as the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service to influence legislation affecting farmers. Such lobbying, on the face of it, flouts the intent of federal law governing political activities of government agencies.

The first two attempts to mobilize farmer sentiment, it will be recalled, were in connection with the burley tobacco poundage-acreage control referendums—both of which were badly beaten by an overwhelming "no" vote by Tennessee growers.

Less than a month ago he summoned 200 ASCS state committeemen to Washington, where he admonished them to go back home and "stage a militant battle against those who seek an end to farm subsidy programs." It was a three-day meeting with U.S. taxpayers picking up the tab for travel and other expenses of those who attended.

So far the only voice of protest against Mr. Freeman's attempt to preserve a bu-

Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman uses tax money to urge retention of farm subsidy programs.

reaucratic agency of some 88,000 employes constituting the "political arm" of USDA has been that of the American Farm Bureau Federation. Farm Bureau, with more than 1.7 million farm families voting on the issue, recently called for an end to this giant boondoggle.

Mr. Freeman, in an effort to fire up the agency's leaders, termed that recommendation the action of "demogogues."

AFBF President Charles B. Shuman's retort was straight and to the point:

"We protest your characterization of anyone who disagrees with you and advocates ending the production restriction programs of a by-gone era as 'demogogues.' Some think that the real demogogues are those who cling to the same farm control schemes which have been in effect during the current crash in farm prices that have plunged the parity ratio to 72 per cent—the lowest since the Depression year of 1934."

Since Farm Bureau is the world's largest farm organization, and since agriculture is the only segment of the economy affected by so-called "benefits" of the programs in question, its voice should help determine the fate of this bureaucratic hangover from Depression years. If farmers don't want price supports nor production controls, such shouldn't be forced upon them.

Mr. Shuman's position, and that of the organization he represents, deserves the active support of every American taxpayer now burdened with the ever-growing cost of government.

In this instance, abolition of farm subsidies would reflect a $2-billion annual saving—a hefty sum even in these days of big spending.

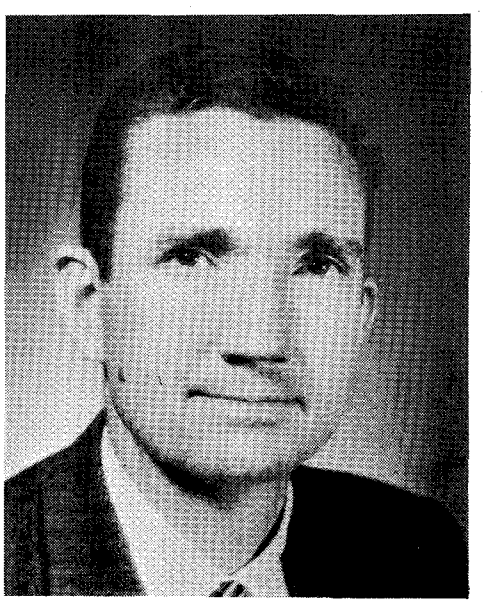
Mr. Freeman's attempt to preserve this bureaucratic stronghold under the guise of that vague term "supply management" constitutes a transparent political scheme to keep America's farmers under the thumb of Washington planners.

Record Crime Spurt

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

The sharp increase in crime—23 per cent over the nation—during the first three months of this year is irrefutable evidence that the permissive attitude toward lawbreakers promoted by succeeding Democratic administrations has failed utterly to deter criminals.

Rather it seems to have caused them virtually to declare open season on the American public. In spite of repeated pleas by the FBI for a nationwide drive



Attorney General Ramsey Clark seems to concentrate on the sociological aspects of crime.

against crime, no effective leadership has come from Washington.

The 23 per cent increase was the biggest rise since the FBI began making quarterly crime reports in 1958.

Under Democratic liberalist doctrines, society as a whole is blamed for crime and long-range sociological solutions are proposed. Pleas by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for a "get tough" enforcement program and less leniency from our courts go virtually unheeded.

President Johnson has shown by his actions where he stands on crime. He has appointed two attorneys general with identical permissive views of crime. The latest, Ramsey Clark, is on record against capital punishment and propounds sociological solutions for crime.

A panel appointed by Mr. Johnson to study crime came up with more of the same: i.e., the way to fight crime is rehabilitate slums, improve education, end poverty and intensify police training.

Though these solutions are proposed as novel approaches to crime, they are identical to those propounded by the Democratic liberals for more than a decade.

There is reason to believe that Congress may enact new laws at this session to restore police authority taken away by a series of Supreme Court decision, to spur the war against organized crime and to promote stricter enforcement of federal statutes.

Certainly on the record of the White House, the best hope of a nationwide crackdown on crime lies in Congress where there is evidence of genuine concern about skyrocketing crime.

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"THE UNITED STATES has never lost a war or won a conference."—Will Rogers

STUDENTS

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We Should Remember Lesson of Nazis

By RUSSELL KIRK

Despite the fuss about neo-Nazi activities in Germany, it is highly improbable that anything like Naziism can become popular in Germany or Austria in the foreseeable future. The great bulk of the population in those countries is utterly disillusioned with the program and methods of Hitler, and few young people, born since the war, are recruited to neo-Nazi organizations.

Strangely enough, Naziism has become more popular in the United States than ever it was before—not seriously so, as yet, of course, yet disquietingly. Recently I looked into the windows of a Hollywood shop which specializes in selling genuine Nazi insignia, helmets, weapons and all that: the place seems to do a good business in these unholy relics.

And all the television programs about the Nazis work curiously upon a good many children, who know very little about recent history. The dramatic salutes, the shiny boots, the efficient exploits, and all the stock in trade of fictionized Naziism appeal to some young people, rather than repel. Nazis assume a heroic mythical stature.

Columnist Kirk asks: Why should George Lincoln Rockwell be invited to speak on college campuses?

For these reasons, among others, I have spoken and written repeatedly against the silliness of student groups that invite freaks like George Lincoln Rockwell to speak. Such gentry actually are subsidized by college lecture programs! A single speech by a ferocious demagogue may not work much mischief, but appearance in the academy confers a certain quasi-respectability upon the subversive fanatic.

An Illinois reader, somewhat puzzled by the incessant flogging of a dead Nazi horse on television and elsewhere, inquires of me, "Is there not a case *for* the Nazis? Is there not a printed record of the reasons for or at least causal on the Nazis' side? I do not mean to imply that the Nazis were right—but I find myself wondering why nobody bothers to present the other side of the story. Or will history not record it at all?"

True enough, there have been too few dispassionate examinations of the reasons why the Nazis attained power in most of Europe. And we ought to look into such origins soberly, for another ideological tyranny might arise from similar causes, even though its professed aims would be quite different.

Consider the behavior of the militant "peaceniks": shouting down speakers who oppose their opinions, actually assaulting speakers on the platform or as they depart, breaking into public buildings, vaingloriously defying the law, burning the national flag, hurling abuse at the chief officers of our Republic, urging resistance to the draft.

Who are they like? Why, they most closely resemble the Nazi gangs that Stormtroopers and agitators were the scum of their nation—criminals, men psychologically deranged, haters of law and order. First they broke everything down, and then upon the ruins of order they established a hideous misrule.

I trust we never will come to that in America. But we ought to study the circumstances in which Naziism arose, and not treat the whole matter as if it were merely a fantastic tale of ogres. For Giant Ideology is very much alive in our world, and he can take as many forms as did Proteus.

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WHAT THEY DON'T KNOW—"No, Bhutan is not a kind of cigarette lighter. It's a country, tucked away in the Himalayas, which is thinking about applying for membership in the United Nations. Apparently Bhutan does not have television."—From the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

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ON THE STARS AND STRIPES—"We follow, all of us, one flag. It symbolizes our purposes and our aspirations; it represents what we mean to maintain, and wherever it floats, it is the flag of the free and the hope of the oppressed, and wherever and whenever it is assailed, at any sacrifice it will be carried to a triumphant peace."—President William McKinley

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"GOOD INTENTIONS will always be pleaded for every assumption of power . . . . It is hardly too strong to say that the Constitution was made to guard the people against the dangers of good intentions. . . . There are men in all ages who mean to govern well, but they mean to govern. They promise to be good masters, but they mean to be masters."—Daniel Webster

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After the victorious Israelis secured the Old City of Jerusalem, they lost no time in clearing away space in front of the historic Wailing Wall (above).

Israel Should Keep Gains

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Israel should not give up one inch of the territory she was forced to take from the Arab nations.

I say *forced to take* because it seems crystal clear that the Arabs were the aggressors, that backed by the Soviet Union they forced war on Israel and that every action Israel took in turn was an act of self-defense.

Israel should keep the territory to protect her borders and her people against future aggressions from the Arab nations.

The Syrian gun positions along the Israeli border are an example. They have been used for years to harass Israeli farms in the area. Now they are silent and should remain so.

The Sinai Peninsula is another example. It has been a staging area for Egyptian plans of conquest. Now it is the graveyard of Egypt's Russian-supplied military machine. If it can serve in the future as a real buffer between the irrational hatreds and ambitions of such men as Gamal Abdel Nasser, it should so serve. If that means Israel keeping it, so be it.

Positions such as Sharm el Sheikh and Ras Nurani, guarding the entry to the Gulf of Aqaba, also should be denied to those who would use them as future doors to slam shut against Israeli shipping, as Egypt did this time in the act that first sent the region hurtling toward war.

The matter of Jerusalem is more emotional than strategic, and no outside comments are likely to be heeded in regard to it.

In making my other suggestions about keeping the territory taken in self-defense, it should be obvious that the main purpose is peace.

It is tragically obvious by now that mere words cannot keep peace in the Middle East, that the United Nations is totally dead in such a role and that only an assured and protected position for Israel can dampen the flames in the Middle East.

This would not serve Israel alone. It would serve those Arabs who, if not led in feudal societies by men whose attitude toward Israel can only be called fanatical, probably could live in peace forever with their Israeli neighbors. Israel has no such fanatical hatred for Arabs and could be depended upon to remain at peace if left alone.

It is amusing to hear the Soviet Union joining in the chorus of those who want to both condemn Israel for starting the war and to make her give up the territory taken in the fighting.

The Soviet Union, if there were any justice and not mere legalisms in the United Nations, would be soundly condemned as the power whose arms and influence started the war.

The Soviet Union should be hooted down for talking about someone keeping territory taken in self-defense, when she still holds captive millions of the peoples of Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

I am deeply mindful that keeping the territories she took in self-defense would impose upon Israel the most profound obligations of charity and fairness to the Arabs living in those areas. I am convinced that the Israelis can be just in peace as they have been terrible in war.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles *Times*)

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"ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR., who has opinions on everything from high matters of state to the efficacy of mini-skirts, now says it's nobody's business what he thinks of the Middle East crisis. The Pulitzer-Prize-winning historian and adviser to Bobby Kennedy was asked his opinion after it was learned that he refused to sign a statement calling on the U.S. to back Israel then under attack by the Arabs. But he did say this: "I think it is inconsistent to favor unilateral invervention in one part of the world when I'm already opposed to unilateral intervention in another part of the world." This, of course, was a reference to Schlesinger's opposition to U.S. policy in Viet Nam. But where does this leave Bobby Kennedy who, dovish on Viet Nam, is an all-out hawk on Israel? Obviously, Bobby is inconsistent. Whatever else one can say about Schlesinger, however, the fact is the professor is consistent—even when he is wrong."—By syndicated columnist Victor Lasky

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Not One Ruble

Financing U.N. 'Peace Forces'

By ALICE WIDENER

Sometimes people don't see the forest for the trees, even very important people. Thus reliable sources inside the United Nations Secretariat say that financial considerations, not Middle East consequences, were a main factor underlying Secretary-General Thant's hasty, impulsive decision last month to accede immediately to Nasser's demand for withdrawal of U.N. Emergency Forces (UNEF) from the Gaza Strip.

Tied in with the financial aspect of his decision are internal political affairs concerning the financial structure of the U.N. that center on a big dispute among member states over money.

At the height of the U.N. financial crisis in 1964, the Soviet Union refused to pay arrears assessed against it for support of UNEF and ONUC (U.N. Operation in the Congo), and France refused to pay arrears assessed for ONUC, though it always paid a share for UNEF. The crux of the internal dispute over money at the U.N. is whether funds expended for special peacekeeping operations are to be considered as "regular" U.N. expenses to be assessed among all member states on a pro rata basis, or whether these funds are to be regarded as "extraordinary" expenses to be borne only by those sponsoring the operations.

The ONUC forces were disbanded at the end of the Congo affair, but there remained a festering sore of financial wrangling over UNEF. The wrangling continued disruptively and without solution because the dispute involves a legal point of utmost importance entailing basic interpretation of what are and are not the powers of the U.N., both political and financial.

With all this in mind, U Thant evidently saw a quick way out of the U.N. financial hassle on receiving Egypt's demand for withdrawal of UNEF—no UNEF, no further assessments, no more basic dispute which has several times threatened to wreck the international organization. Actually, however, U Thant's action created still bigger political and financial problems.

Since the fall of 1956, when UNEF first was sent to the Gaza Strip, the total U.N. cost has been $219 million, of which the United States contributed approximately 43 per cent (including initial airlift costs). For calendar 1966 the UNEF cost was $18,909,517, of which we Americans paid 31.91 per cent. The United States regards U.N. special peacekeeping operations as "regular" U.N. expenses to be assessed against all member states. France and the Soviet Union claim this is a misinterpretation of the Charter provisions concerning U.N. expenses.

There is no U.N. dispute over possible assessments for costs of any "enforcement" action voted by the Security Council to ensure peace, if ever such a measure were taken. But neither ONUC nor UNEF were in the legal category of "enforcement" action under the Charter; they were "special operations" not provided for in specific financial terms.

Until the matter of what can be assessed for what expenses at the U.N. is settled, it is safe to predict there will be no more "special" military operations by the U.N., unless those sponsoring them are willing to put up all the money.

The Soviet Union never has put up a plugged nickel or unusable ruble for U.N. peacekeeping operations; American taxpayers have borne the major share of the costs.

If there should be any future agreement to restore U.N. peacekeeping forces to the Middle East, the postwar financial costs are bound to be many times higher than those for UNEF. Therefore, in addition to his being politically inept in hastily withdrawing UNEF from Gaza, Secretary-General Thant was penny-wise and pound foolish. The moral seems to be that perhaps all those naive Americans cherishing dreams of permanent peace under a U.N. world government headed by a U.N. chief executive will now face the reality that professional internationalists are as fallible as ordinary mortals.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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Liberalism's Little-Known Sugar Daddy

How the National Committee for an Effective Congress uses its vast resources to push both parties leftward

By DONALD J. LAMBRO

The National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC), which thinks "effective" really means "liberal," has sent out a frantic nationwide mailing to try to raise money for senatorial candidates it supports in the 1968 elections.

Dispatched over the signatures of two liberal historians who are Viet Nam doves, Henry Steele Commager and Barbara Tuchman, the letter subtly assails our policy of resisting communism in Viet Nam and calls for the re-election of senators who have "demonstrated independence of thought and character."

"Among Democrats," says NCEC, "we find the men of courage in the deepest peril in 1968, including Senators Church, Clark, Fulbright, Gruening, McGovern, Morse and Nelson. Republicans who are up, who have shown responsibility, include Senators Aiken, Javits and Kuchel. . . . Every dollar that you give now is worth two dollars given at the crisis of the campaign. . . . With your help we can provide the country with a real alternative to resentment, reaction and retreat."

Every senator mentioned rests on the left end of the political spectrum within his own party and only Kuchel can be considered less than a dove on Viet Nam.

The same letter also condemns California Gov. Ronald Reagan as an "extremist" and hails the success of the powerful Democratic Study Group—the clique of 140 or so zealous House liberals which has pushed some of the most radical legislation through Congress.

Backed by many of the wealthiest liberal financiers in America, the NCEC is one of the largest money distributors in the Eastern Liberal Establishment.

It spent more than $500,000 in the 1964 campaign, over $200,000 in the 1966 off-year elections and, according to reliable accounts, will pour close to $800,000 into liberal campaigns in the presidential year of 1968. In addition to the official campaign committees of the two major parties and organized labor, the NCEC is the only national group which contributes more than $100,000 to congressional candidates in campaign years.

'Adjuncts' of the ADA

Despite a pretense of objectivity and a supposed concern for "effectiveness" throughout its 20-year history, the NCEC has been spearheaded by highly vociferous liberals, some of whom even sport Communist-front associations. The organization appears to have one, overriding purpose: remaking both parties into sort of adjuncts of the radical Americans for Democratic Action.

Indeed, liberal Democrat Jimmy Roosevelt, who served as the NCEC's first national chairman in 1948, announced the group's goal as channelling ". . . practical and direct support toward the election of qualified liberals to the national legislature." The organization has been as good as Jimmy's word, and then some.

Not only has it supported liberals in both parties, but it has helped organize them inside Congress with the aim of dramatically pushing both parties to the left. In the House, it founded and works closely with the aforementioned Democratic Study Group, which has been the driving force behind such "Great Society" schemes like Medicare, rent subsidies and demonstration cities. The NCEC has also tried to fuse a radical rebellion within the GOP.

Recently, for example, the NCEC organized a semi-secret meeting for

Liberal historian Henry Steele Commager, a member of the NCEC's national board, is urging the re-election of "dove" senators.

"moderate" Republicans at the house of NCEC member Laughlin Phillips, publisher of the liberal *Washingtonian* magazine. Newspaper accounts, checked out with NCEC members, revealed that Russell D. Hemenway and Sidney Scheuer, the NCEC's executive director and president respectively, warned that the conservative GOP House leadership of Gerald Ford and Melvin Laird would lead the Republicans "down the road to oblivion."

NCEC favorite Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) urged Republicans to bolt the party line on key issues. Many in the gathering were reportedly opposed to the GOP's "budget cutting" proposals and its general stand against LBJ's "soft on Soviet" policies, particularly expanded East-West trade.

Praising NCEC to the skies, Scott urged his audience to be "daring." He went on to hail the records of such famous "party bolters" as Senators Jacob Javits of New York and Clifford Case of New Jersey. One House member was quoted as saying that he had "seldom heard a more open invitation to revolt."

Among those Republicans attending the NCEC get-together: Senators Scott and J. Caleb Boggs (Del.), Representatives James G. Fulton (Pa.), Florence Dwyer (N.J.), Charles Whalen (Ohio), Charles Mathias (Md.), Seymour Halpern (N.Y.), Robert T. Stafford (Vt.) and Joseph McDade (Pa.).

Another Republican who attended was Rep. Brad Morse (Mass.), the chief spark plug of the "Wednesday Club," a group of liberal House Republicans. Reached by telephone in New York, NCEC President Sidney Scheuer explained the purpose of the meeting: "Just as the Democratic Study Group exerts pressure on the Democratic leadership, these Republicans should exert pressure on GOP leadership."

Organized in 1948 when it began raising money for such Democratic radicals as Hubert Humphrey and the late Estes Kefauver, the NCEC has built a contributor list of close to 50,000 persons, including some of the richest liberals in the country.

Based in New York City, with a branch office in Washington, NCEC has put together an effective organizational complex of officers, advisers, congressional researchers and ad hoc committees throughout the country.

In the elections last November 8 the NCEC spent more than $200,000 to help 15 Democrats and five Republicans in the Senate and 53 Democrats and 18 Republicans in the House. According to NCEC, 82 per cent of those the committee endorsed for the Senate and 72 per cent of its House candidates were elected.

During the 1964 presidential campaign the NCEC had the biggest year in its history. Of the 70 candidates for the House and Senate whom it supported, 62 were elected. It gave money to 46 Democrats and 24 Republicans—the total of which was "in excess of" $500,000.

In 1960 NCEC's chief beneficiaries were Senate candidates Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn.), $4,550; Robert L. Knous (D.-Colo.), $9,200; George McGovern (D.-S.D.), $15,150; Pat McNamara (D.-Mich.) $5,500; Lee Metcalf (D.-Mont.), $5,500; Maurine B. Neuberger (D.-Ore.), $2,125; Quentin N. Burdick (D.-S.D.), $5,000; and Frank Theis (D.-Kan.), $9,300.

At NCEC's New York City suite, 10 East 39th St., Executive Director Russell Hemenway supervises a staff of six salaried employes and one Washington secretary, Miss Susan Bennett, who works out of a Capitol Hill basement apartment-office at 435 New Jersey Ave., S.E. The offices are rented to the NCEC by former Rep. Walter H. Moeller, liberal (DSG) Democrat from Ohio. These offices were once occupied by the Democratic Study Group until that semi-secret organization moved up the street to the Cannon House Office Building and let the taxpayers foot the rent.

NCEC, according to Miss Bennett, "had something to do with the gradual evolution of DSG." It was, in fact, at the prodding of NCEC officers and their congressional members that the idea of a liberal lobbying group in the House was first given impetus, with NCEC giving the fledgling group the cash with which to begin its first political operation back in 1959.

Since then, NCEC has worked closely with its liberal offspring in the House, providing DSG with large amounts of money in order to meet its operating budget and coordinating research and campaign activities.

A check of NCEC statements at the House File Clerk's office shows that the New York organization has worked closely with Senators Eugene J. McCarthy (Minn.) and A. S. Mike Monroney (Okla.) and Rep. James G. O'Hara (Mich.). McCarthy, an early leader in DSG, and Monroney have met frequently with NCEC officers, signed fund-raising letters and kept them abreast of liberal plans in the Senate.

Rep. O'Hara, the chairman of the Democratic Study Group, has frequently traveled to New York to meet with NCEC officers to coordinate DSG-NCEC political moves. O'Hara recently won the DSG chairmanship—a post he has been actively seeking for some time—with the assistance and blessing of NCEC.

According to an article by Walter Pincus in the Washington *Evening Star,* DSG reached " . . . an operating understanding . . . with the NCEC . . . that for many years has, through mailings, advertisements and small social functions, raised money for liberals of both parties."

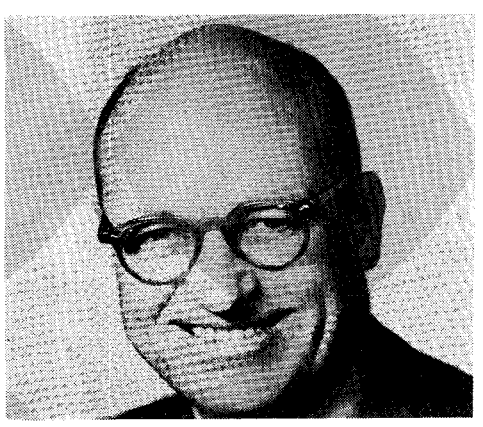
Last year the NCEC raised over $40,000 with a letter signed by Sen. McCarthy and historian Henry Steele Commager which was sent out to liberal contributors and advertised in *The New Republic, Saturday Review* and other liberal journals. The letter sought contributions for liberal Senate "candidates and some 50 men in the House who represent clear-cut choices against right-wing opponents."

Contributions to DSG

The NCEC-Special Fund, as it was called, contributed $34,500 to DSG in increments of 2, 4 and $5,000. On Oct. 6, 1966, when DSG was literally crying for funds, its own efforts having failed miserably, the NCEC-Special Fund sent the House group a check for $18,000.

The list of NCEC recipients in the House reads like the DSG membership rolls, so the actual financial assistance to DSG is, in fact, a major part of NCEC's political contributions.

Two freshman Republican senators who have received cash from NCEC are Edward Brooke of Massachusetts and Howard Baker of Tennessee. Baker, however, was not endorsed by the group and Brooke, judging from some of the stands he has taken since his election in 1966, particularly in regard to Viet Nam, is probably in bad repute with the group. Nevertheless, the NCEC believes that these members, as well as other GOP freshman senators Griffin,



Former Rep. Jimmy Roosevelt (D.-Calif.), a leader in the fight to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, was the first national chairman of the NCEC.

Hatfield and Percy, will pull the party to the left.

The work of the NCEC often goes far beyond the bounds of mere fund raising. National Chairman Scheuer, testifying before a congressional committee in 1956, admitted that the work of NCEC " . . . is not always exclusively in fund raising. In the recent campaign [1956], for instance, the National Committee for an Effective Con-

Mr. Lambro is a free-lance writer in Washington, D.C.; who has contributed to Human Events *in the past, notably on the activities of the liberal Democratic Study Group (DSG).*

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gress initiated the formation of a special committee for a Senate candidate, which . . . not only raised funds on his behalf, but helped to provide personnel for his campaign, buy advertising and television time, etc."

It was disclosed later that Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.) was the secret recipient of this special campaign assistance and a $50,000 campaign fund from "an affiliate of the NCEC." Working with the NCEC, Mayor Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, liberal brother of the late Sen. Robert A. Taft, established the group called the "Citizens' Fund for Cooper." Since that time the NCEC has established many "independent" groups to raise money for liberals and in that way has disassociated itself from the "king-making" image it represents outside the Northeast.

"Where it is thought the appeal would be more effective," Mr. Scheuer testified, "ad hoc committees may be formed . . . for the purpose of soliciting on behalf of particular candidates. . . ."

The NCEC, for instance, organized special out-of-state fund-raising groups in New York and Washington, D.C., for Brooke's Massachusetts senatorial campaign, but its connection with these groups remained hidden.

A more dramatic example of NCEC's clandestine efforts came to light in 1956 when New York *Times*man Gladwin Hill exposed liberal plans to defeat the late conservative Idaho senator, Herman Welker. Hill reported:

"Another source of funds is an Eastern advertising campaign against Sen. Welker being staged by Elmer Davis and Archibald MacLeish, operating as an offshoot of the NCEC." Davis was a top official in FDR's New Deal days as head of the Office of War Information.

Together they produced political tracts, white papers and campaign documents searingly critical of the Idaho conservative. NCEC branch offices saw that this material got into the right hands.

Only one candidate has been known to return cash contributions from NCEC: former Sen. Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.) who was unseated last year by Charles Percy. After receiving five contributions totalling $3,400 during his 1954 campaign, the Illinois liberal turned back the money to the organization.

No explanation was given by Douglas or the Citizens for Douglas Committee in Chicago, but many close observers at the time concluded that Douglas—a strong anti-Communist in foreign policy—had become increasingly worried that individuals connected with NCEC had leftist backgrounds.

NCEC has been carefully examined by congressional investigating committees and, though it is by no means a Communist front, its supporters, officers and advisory board members have given support to Communist causes and the organization, at times, has received lavish commendation from the Communist press.

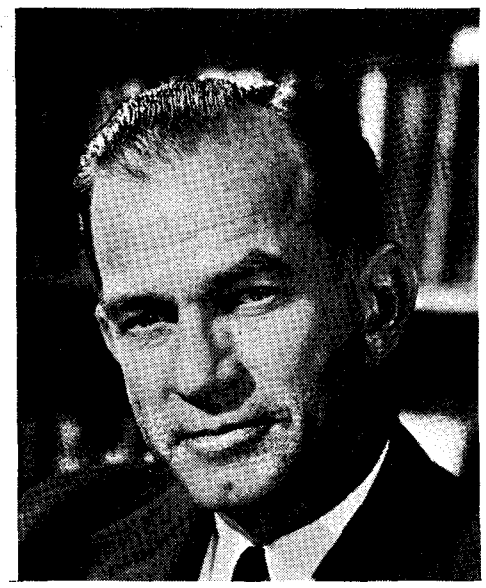
The NCEC has also consistently worked to defeat candidates identified with the fight against communism.

It has opposed: the late Herman A. Welker, who was a member of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee; J. G. Sourwine, present chief counsel of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, who was a candidate for the United States Senate in Nevada in 1956; and William E. Jenner, a member of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

NCEC has strongly opposed congressional committees engaged in exposing communism. In its official organ, *Congressional Report*, NCEC stated in 1956 that candidates should be tested on the following basis:

(1) "Whether Chairman Francis Walter and the Democratic leadership will permit the House Un-American Activities Committee to be used as a smear weapon against the Fund for the Republic."

(2) "Whether the Senate Internal Security subcommittee will confine its inquiry on Communist influence in the press to legitimate instances or whether it will do a hatchet job on newspapers which have supported the present Administration."



The NCEC has consistently supported those on the left end of their political parties, such as Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) and Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.). Scott, in fact, has highly praised the NCEC and has urged his GOP colleagues to bolt the "party line" on many issues.

NCEC was also deeply involved in the movement to censure the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

It was revealed late in 1954, in what was then a major exposé of NCEC's political activities, that the New York group had been operating an anti-McCarthy headquarters out of the old Carroll Arms Hotel across the street from the Senate Office Building. Employing a former government press agent to handle its publicity, NCEC worked closely with Sen. Ralph Flanders (Vt.) and engineered a "telegraphic pressure" campaign using the names of wealthy liberals closely aligned with the Roosevelt-Truman regime to urge support for Flanders' censure resolution.

'Front' Groups Used

As recorded in the Aug. 2, 1954 *Congressional Record,* the late Sen. Flanders admitted that "the specifications in his resolution censuring Sen. McCarthy . . . came from the NCEC."

The committee sent a telegram on July 23, 1954, to every member of the Senate asking for support of measures which would stifle congressional investigations of communism. Among the signers of that NCEC telegram were such notable American liberals as Ralph McGill, Reinhold Niebuhr and Walter Reuther.

Chicago *Tribune* columnist Willard Edwards estimated that NCEC spent more than $57,000 in its campaign to destroy McCarthy. Their clandestine efforts, however, were not uncovered until after some considerable digging had been done by Washington reporters. Nonetheless, NCEC today continues to operate behind front organizations, often preferring to create amorphous "citizens' groups" rather than use the NCEC title.

The NCEC—to the delight of the *Daily Worker*—also assailed the Senate Internal Security subcommittee for its 1955 investigation of certain staff members of major newspapers with significant Communist affiliations.

Unquestionably, part of the reason for the NCEC's stands on various issues is the background of its founders and present members.

• NCEC's first chairman, former Rep. **James Roosevelt,** has a lengthy background of leftist activities. A supporter in 1946 of former Rep. Hugh DeLacy (D.-Wash.), who was a member of the Communist party, Roosevelt served as an executive officer for the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, an organization which was proven to be Communist-dominated. A strong supporter of Henry Wallace's "soft-on-Soviet" policies, Roosevelt also welcomed the victory of the Chinese Communists over the pro-Western Chiang Kai-shek, advocated the recognition of Red China and its admission to the United Nations since 1950 and strongly supported Nikita Khrushchev's 1962 demands that the United States remove its missile bases from Europe. Before he retired from Congress in 1965, he led the fight in the House to abolish the Committee on Un-American Activities.

• **Russell D. Hemenway:** Now NCEC executive director, he signed and was instrumental in 1965 in delivering to several New York congressmen an anti-HCUA petition issued by the N.Y. Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, an affiliate of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC which has been officially cited as a Communist front.

• **Gerhard P. Van Arkel:** Currently listed as an NCEC board member, this prominent Washington attorney spoke against the sentencing of Morton Sobell, who was found guilty in 1951 for conspiring to commit espionage. He is quoted as saying that sentencing Sobell was "grossly unjust." A former general counsel to the National Labor Relations Board, Van Arkel attacked the federal loyalty program in 1947, served on the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell and in 1950 signed a letter in behalf of Alger Hiss. In November 1961, Van Arkel signed a clemency petition to President Kennedy on behalf of Carl Braden, who was convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in prison after refusing to answer questions put to him by HCUA concerning his alleged Communist activities. Van Arkel is presently a member of the National Lawyers Guild, a Communist-front organization.

• **Telford Taylor,** another NCEC board member, was associated with the defense of left-wing union leader Harry Bridges in 1953 and authored the book, *Grand Inquest,* an attack on congressional investigations of communism which was favorably reviewed in the *Daily Worker.* Taylor, in addition to defending Bridges, defended Junius Scales, North Carolina Communist party chairman in 1956, on his appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court after conviction under the Smith Act. (Scales is no longer in the party.) His defense of other leftist clients, including the Communist-controlled International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in 1957, has won the applause of the *Daily People's World* and the *Daily Worker.*

Taylor is known as " . . . a perennial champion of leftists, whose professional talents have aided such individuals as Harry Bridges, various Smith Act defendants and union moguls with asserted Communist leanings," according to Edward J. Mowery of the Newark (N.J.) *Star Ledger.*

• **George D. Pratt Jr.:** Listed as an NCEC board member, Pratt was a dabbler in left-wing causes during the 1930s and 40s. He signed an appeal to President Truman for amnesty for 11 Communist prisoners convicted under the Smith Act, according to *The Witness* (a far-left Episcopalian weekly), Jan. 22, 1953. And he was listed on the Committee of Sponsors for the 50th Anniversary Conference of the pro-Socialist League for Industrial Democracy, 1955.

Pratt is one of the big contributors to NCEC and has also given thousands of dollars to the Democratic Study Group. "Yes, I've helped the DSG and I've helped many Democratic senators," he told this reporter in a telephone interview. Though he says he is no longer formally connected with NCEC, the organization still maintains him on its list of board members.

Pratt contributed $10,000 to the Southern Conference Educational Fund in 1958, an organization set up by James Dombrowski, an identified Communist. The SCEF was the successor to a group cited in 1954 by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee as a Communist front. Among the luminaries active in SCEF was the aforementioned Carl Braden who, aside from his refusal to respond to questions concerning his possible Communist ties, was convicted in 1954 in Louisville, Ky., on charges of sedition against the state. The decision was reversed when the Supreme Court ruled the state law was unconstitutional.

• **Henry Steele Commager.** Another member of the NCEC's 26-man national board, Commager signed a petition in 1955 requesting a Christmas amnesty for Communists imprisoned under the Smith Act; he was among the signers of a letter in 1961 requesting President Kennedy to pardon identified Communist Frank Wilkinson, then serving a jail sentence for contempt of Congress; and he has bitterly opposed America's participation in South Viet Nam. In 1964 he spoke at a tribute for the far-left scientist, Dr. Linus Pauling; and in May 1966 he signed a petition calling for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Undeniable Effectiveness

Other national board members include Harry Ashmore, a member of the left-wing Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and Michael Straight, the editor of *The New Republic* during one of its more notorious radical periods.

The effectiveness of the NCEC is undeniable. Its offspring, the DSG, has become a powerful force in the Congress and Republican rebels, as evidenced by the actions of Sen. Hugh Scott, look to it for advice. It has not only been viewed as effective by Sen. Eugene McCarthy, one of its own, but by conservatives as well. "Whether we like to admit it or not," former Sen. Barry Goldwater once noted, "the Committee for an Effective Congress is a most effective tool . . . to elect . . . a so-called liberal Congress. I do not dispute their right to do so. I only warn the conservative element."

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How We Can Really Help Small Business

Present SBA record of failure means new approach needed

By LAWRENCE FERTIG

The American public is naturally very sympathetic to small business. Everyone likes to see David victorious over Goliath. The best way to help the little fellow is to remove from his back the load of taxes, work restrictions enforced by labor unions, artificial minimum wage laws, etc., which now severely affect him. But even under these current restrictions thousands of small businesses, privately financed and privately managed, have been very successful.

Look through the over-the-counter stock market and you will find there many glowing records of success by small companies making fried chicken, electronics, hamburgers, special tools, etc. But this record has been due in no way to government intervention by the Small Business Administration (SBA).

The Small Business Administration in Washington has achieved an unenviable record. The SBA is probably the biggest flop of all government agencies employing federal cash in an attempt to improve the economy by subsidizing special groups. This must be considered a remarkable achievement, considering the long history of failure by these agencies.

One basic trouble with the SBA is that it tries to achieve two objectives which often defeat each other. On the one hand the SBA tries to "fight poverty." On the other it tries to help small business grow and become more profitable. The result has been that poverty has not been noticeably relieved, and millions of taxpayers' money have been wasted on loans to small business which never had a chance from the start.

In the name of anti-poverty the SBA has financed automobile repair shops, laundries, bakeries, hobby shops, pet shops, etc. These have frequently been run by people with little experience and less talent. Many soon failed. In nearly all cases these businesses could not get commercial financing because the chance of success was practically nil. An SBA spokesman said quite truthfully, "You've got to expect losses when you're fighting a war on poverty." This statement reveals a deep confusion. Most of these loans had little to do with fighting poverty.

To encourage small business (which is the other objective of SBA) this agency has financed what are known as Small Business Investment Companies (SBIC's). These companies, privately owned, are subsidized by government loans of up to twice their invested capital, at a low interest rate. They can charge off capital losses 100 per cent against current income. They can accumulate earnings without incurring tax penalties.

Stockholders of an SBIC get special tax privileges—if they sell their stock at a loss they can deduct the loss from income. A lot of people rushed to take advantage of this government-financed gravy train—but the results were quite different from the anticipation. In March this year the SBA officially reported that out of 732 such companies, 232 were "problem" companies; 60 were in process of liquidating; 42 had lost more than half their private capital; and 13 had lost more than half their private and government capital.

Bernard L. Boutin, director of SBA, estimated in April that $50 million of the $242 million so far advanced by the federal government to SBIC would be lost.

This is a sorry record. Much of it could have been anticipated. As every businessman knows, it takes unusual ability to make a small business grow. Easy financing frequently induces sloppy management, and in many cases internal corruption. This is what happened to many SBIC's. Government cash freely distributed is not the way to stimulate sound private enterprise.

Bernard Boutin, director of the Small Business Administration.

Having produced this record of failure, what is the solution offered by the SBA? It is the usual one offered by every government agency which is not successful after losing substantial federal funds. Their solution is—*more* government money and an *expanded* program for Small Business Investment Companies.

The SBA sent to Congress at the end of May proposed legislation which would give these investment companies greater access to federal cash. "The average Small Business Investment Company," said Mr. Boutin, "is much too small, much too limited in financial resources and management skills to do the job contemplated by Congress." So Mr. Boutin would raise private investment from the present $300,000 to $1 million, and he would increase maximum government investment to $10 million from the present $4.5 million. In this plan there is no guarantee of "management skills" necessary to protect government cash. Many SBIC's have failed and they will again.

The way to encourage small business is to relieve its back-breaking load of high taxes and labor union restrictions on work. This is the form of federal aid it needs—not government subsidies.

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The Five Main Purposes of Education

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

An old, old story is told of a certain philosopher who in a dream one night was visited by Minerva, goddess of wisdom. In partial repayment for a long life of dedication to philosophy, she offered him the answer to one question, with no strings attached.

"Tell me, O goddess," cagily quoth the sage, "how I may find the one unfailing path to truth, justice and virtue?"

"That's easy," quipped his Olympian visitant briskly. "Just define your terms."

And with that she vanished in a flurry of ectoplasm, after the annoying manner of goddesses.

I was reminded of old Min the other day when I received this letter from one of my less ecstatic correspondents.

"You're always talking about the strengths, weaknesses and problems of education. I notice, however, that you never quite get around to defining your terms. What is education or, rather, what should it be? What's the purpose of education anyway?"

It doesn't have one, sir. It has five, and here they are.

1. *To pursue the truth.*

Yes, sir. The truth. No matter where it may be or how cleverly it may be concealed. It's a never-ending chase, of course, and being mortal, erring humans we may never quite catch up with truth and hold it cupped in our hands. The very search for it, though, cannot but ennoble those who spend their lives in such a quest.

2. *To hand down the cultural heritage of the race.*

Otherwise, each generation would have to spend its valuable time reinventing the wheel. Or writing *Hamlet.* Or splitting the atom. Education focuses the accumulated wisdom of the past upon the vexing problems of the present in order to make possible a better future. Or at least it should.

3. *To teach organized, disciplined, systematic subject matter.*

Not life adjustment, togetherness, ingroupness or happy, easy, comfortable acceptance by one's peer group. The only thing which enables man to dominate a savagely hostile environment is knowledge of specific subject matter and the ability to use it as a means of keeping said environment tamed and in its place. This old saw is especially pertinent for present-day America, whose planetary environment is currently so downright hostile as to be positively hair-raising.

4. *To help the individual realize his own potential.*

Until relatively recently, concern with the individual was the be-all and the end-all of my profession. Of late we've been plunging up all kinds of blind alleys labeled "group counseling," "group psychological testing" and an educators' version of "group therapy." We'd better get the individual back into the educational spotlight unless, of course, we want to opt for the ant-hill, mass-Pavlovian-reflex training which the Russians have substituted for real education. Oh, the latter is cheaper, all right, and more efficient. It just isn't education.

5. *To ensure the survival of our country.*

Just plain self-preservation. If Uncle Sam goes down the drain, so does our whole education establishment with its practitioners. Something else would take its place, no doubt, but it would be pretty unrecognizable, except perhaps to somebody like George Orwell. In fact, we educators had better do whatever is necessary to see that Uncle Sam stays around a while longer. Unless we're ready to change our vocation, that is.

There. I've defined my terms. For my money, these are the five purposes of education.

You'll notice that none of them has much to do with adjustment to environment or with the achievement of popularity within one's group or even with making a fast buck. These things can be taught, all right, but the process is not real education.

Sorry about that.

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Petty Politics

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Democrats in the United States House of Representatives are playing petty politics with the relatively mild congressional reorganization measure passed by the Senate, so much so that it appears the measure may be dead for this session.

It established a few uniform rules for Senate and House committees, required certain meetings to be open, banned some proxy voting, called for votes of committee members to be made public and guaranteed professional staff assistance for Republican minorities on committees.

House Democrats gagged on the provision to supply GOP committee members with needed staffs.

For years Democratic committee majorities have denied staff help to Republicans as a means of silencing their views and maintaining absolute control of committees. It is a favorite means of preventing the public from learning of Republican alternatives.

The House Demos have drafted a substitute bill that not only eliminates virtually all the proposed committee procedure changes, but drops the provision for providing Republican minorities with staffs.

This is cheap politics, unworthy of the highest legislative body of the United States. Democrats who are trying to maintain the present committee system that silences the minority, should consider that they may soon be members of a minority party. Autocratic actions such as these are contributing to the national trend away from the authoritarian Democratic party.

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(Written in 1917 by Wm. Tyler Page)

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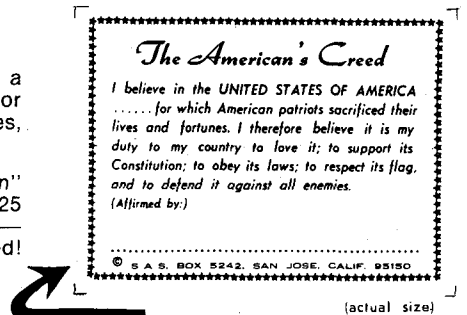
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Why Landrum-Griffin Is Needed

Scandal Breaks Out in Electrical Union

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Behind the trim facade of its modern headquarters in Washington, the International Union of Electrical Workers is breathing scandal. Once the self-proclaimed paragon of trade union integrity, the IUE is brewing new troubles for itself. Charges of "wrongdoing" and "unethical conduct" fill the air.

To the casual observer the atmosphere recalls those bad days when James B. Carey, founder and seemingly perpetual president, was bounced out of office after a Labor Department investigation disclosed that his election had been systematically rigged. Now Mr. Carey's successor, Paul Jennings, is under attack by two aides.

In what is rapidly becoming a brawl of magnificent proportions, Mr. Jennings has lost two of his aides—Al Loewenthal, who holds the title of executive assistant to the president, and Dan Arnold. That Mr. Loewenthal was one of the architects of the victory which made Paul Jennings president of the IUE—and that he has labored long and lovingly for his boss—is a forgotten fact in the controversy.

The participants in the IUE's Kilkenny Alley encounter have tried to keep their troubles under wraps. But new stories that the Labor Department is again investigating the IUE—this time to untangle the seamy affairs of its New York-New Jersey District 3—have opened the door to press inquiry.

The issues remain murky, but they have been clarified somewhat by a letter to President Jennings from Mr. Loewenthal, a copy of which is in this writer's possession.

Involved in the controversy are the records of District 3, which disappeared when its affairs came under scrutiny. This, naturally, upset Mr. Loewenthal. Of greater concern to him was President Jennings' refusal, for five months, to mount an investigation of the erring district. This he sees as "evidence of unethical practices involving both you and the general counsel at the international level."

The clear implication in Mr. Loewenthal's letter that the IUE leadership attempted to cover up a scandal in District 3 gets some substantiation from

IUE chief Paul Jennings is troubled with internal dissension in his union.

the fact that Mr. Jennings tried very hard to transfer his executive assistant. In fact, Mr. Loewenthal was offered "anything he wanted" in the union, just so long as he removed himself from the post where he could keep an eye on the IUE president.

When he refused to go, a "resignation" he had never submitted was "accepted." He has now appealed to the International Executive Board to hear his charges and to examine his documentation. Meanwhile, the Labor Department continues to investigate.

All of this is admittedly vague. What the "wrongdoing" and the "unethical practices" were will undoubtedly be aired when the IEB meets.

What is significant now is the existence of possible scandal, rather than its nature. For the IUE, along with Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers, has always smugly held that any corruption or wrongdoing in the AFL-CIO is the exclusive property of the AFL side of the partnership. Both unions were among the most satisfied deplorers of the activities of the Teamsters Union when its leaders were hauled before the Senate Labor Rackets Committee.

The IUE must now admit that it has joined the ranks of those unions which made it necessary to pass the Landrum-Griffin Act—a piece of legislation that put a few limits on the powers of the labor bureaucracy. The AFL-CIO strenuously opposed Landrum-Griffin, but it is under the act's provisions that the Labor Department is investigating IUE's District 3—and may be called upon to intervene in the Jennings-Loewenthal controversy.

For the IUE this is bad news. Internal dissension can only weaken it as it vies with other unions for its share of the labor contracts with such industrial giants as General Electric and Westinghouse. Dissatisfaction with Mr. Jennings, which will probably be sparked by full disclosure of the mysterious "unethical" conduct alluded to in the Loewenthal letter, can only lead to the kind of serious split that encourages raiding by other unions.

This is the trouble that's a-brewing behind a modern facade on a pleasant tree-lined street in Washington.

(Copyright 1967, King Features Synd.)

□ □ □

FARMERS' CHOICE—"I've heard some talk about folks wanting to trade Secretary of Defense McNamara and a bunch of airplanes for the one-eyed Gen. Moshe Dayan, who won the war for Israel. But I imagine some of the farmers might prefer using Secretary of Agriculture Freeman in the trade instead of McNamara."—By Rep. James V. Smith (R.-Okla.)

Public Television

Education or Propaganda?

By RAYMOND MOLEY

Senate Bill 1160, entitled the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, has passed the Senate and is now before the House. This bill, if enacted, would thrust the heavy foot of the federal government, which means always a political government, ever farther into the door of public education.

It is an extension of the Educational Television Facilities Act of 1962, which provided grants matched with the states on a 50-50 basis. Under S 1160 the federal government would pay 75 per cent of such grants, and for that outlay it would authorize $10.5 million in 1968. Beyond that for four years the federal subsidy would probably increase progressively.

As always with federal grants, there would be additional federal bureaucracy. For the bill would set up a federal corporation governed by a board of 15 members. Nine of these would be appointed by the President and six by the President's appointees.

In the rush of unfinished business there seems to have been little consideration of the potential mischief in this proposed legislation. In this Johnsonian era anything that is labeled education is assumed to be in the public interest, even when it permits the knowledge and opinions of the people to be shaped according to the specifications of a political government.

Much of this federal subsidy for educational television would probably be channeled through an organization called the National Education Television network, a liberally oriented outfit which manufactures programs and offers them to some 130 educational TV stations. Under new rulings of the FCC, new channels are allocated to ETV and would ultimately serve 600 stations.

I suggest that if the federal government should propose such a subsidized arrangement to supply editorials and features to newspapers there would be a tremendous outcry about freedom of the press. But this reach into a similar medium of communication differs only in method, not substance.

The report on the bill by Sen. John Pastore's (D.-R.I.) subcommittee raises a very important question of principle. It says that "the airways themselves over which programs are broadcast are public property." They are, it says further, "natural resources."

But there is a vital difference between natural resources owned by the public and natural resources owned by the government. The earth and all it contains belongs to the people who inhabit it, and so does the air over the earth. The government, however, does not have title of ownership.

The role of government, except under socialism or communism, is to make sure that some of the people do not unjustly exploit resources belonging to all of the people. Under our free society private agencies develop such resources under regulations imposed by the government.

Government ownership and operation is constitutionally limited. The proof of this principle is that private development has been not only much more efficient than government ownership, but more beneficial to the people. True, there are monopolies to be considered. Here government by long experience serves best as a regulator, not an operator. Consider the relative efficiency and progressive nature of the telephone system as compared with the Post Office.

This principle applies with special emphasis to the airwaves over which the people learn so much of the news and by a process of selection shape their opinions. For in the area of communication, a very sensitive nerve is touched.

What we see and hear is the price we pay for freedom or, if you choose, democracy. Certainly, the objection of a minority to the quality of television and radio fare is no reason to give the government, politically inspired as it must be, a determination of what the programs should be.

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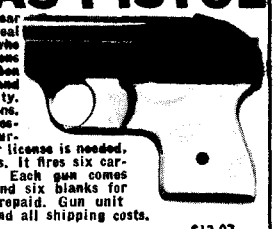

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Should Census Ask So Many Questions?

By REP. JACKSON BETTS (R.-Ohio)

In our Constitution, Article I, Section 3, Clause 4 commands that "Census or enumeration of the inhabitants shall be made within three years after the first meeting of Congress, and within every subsequent term of 10 years thereafter." Accordingly, at the beginning of each decade, there has been a census to determine the apportionment and the proper representation of the states in the House.

As so often happens when government tasks involve extensive detail and paperwork, the responsibility was given to a specialized agency, the Bureau of the Census. As society was overtaken by a technological era, government expanded and requirements for information grew and the bureau soon spread into other fields, asking questions on housing, then unemployment and other such areas. Penalties were created to compel individuals to answer and to promote accuracy.

Today we have a bureaucracy whose statistic-gathering has extended into practically every major field and is still growing.

In reviewing and comparing the questions asked over the years and the role of Congress in this process, I note with concern that Congress has not assumed a major role, but rather has followed a policy of appeasement and uncomplaining compliance. This advisory role taken by Congress, combined with the various pressures from industrial and social interests, have induced the bureau into increased probing of our citizens' affairs and have led it far afield from the original constitutional intentions.

Subtle Transgression

A number of my constitutents have brought to my attention their anxiety over their rights of privacy as related to what they are required to answer on the decennial census questionnaire. The right of an individual to keep private certain information about himself is, in most cases, I think a cherished American tradition. Yet, through our inactivity, we have allowed this tradition to be transgressed by the Census Bureau.

The bureau's violation was so gradual and subtle, we unwittingly sanctioned this transgression by failing to notice what was happening to our citizens.

Many personal questions, unnecessary for the function of our government, are being asked of our constituents to satisfy the needs of the economic and social interests of our nation—questions on still births, former marriages and other highly personal matters. Furthermore, penalties have been placed on anyone refusing to comply, thereby denying their right to privacy due to fear of prosecution.

I believe the American people do have a right to their privacy. Not only is it an essential facet of human dignity and freedom, but its various components can be found in the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 9th Amendments. The Supreme Court once defined (*Griswold vs. Connecticut*) a right to privacy as an independent constitutional doctrine and granted the people "a right to be left alone." The difficulty is that where once privacy meant preventing unwarranted intrusions upon one's property, today it encompasses one's personality and information about himself.

$100 Assertion

This situation is definitely one deserving our concern. Congress can and must assert a more positive role in protecting this privacy.

The consequences of increased intrusion are obvious. Not only is the privacy of the individual treaded upon, but it results in his distrust of the government and depersonalizes the American way of life. The citizen often feels there is nothing he alone can do about this; he must cooperate.

In the case of the census, he is compelled by law and has no protection whatever. If he wishes to assert his right to privacy, it can cost him a $100 fine and up to 60 days in prison (United States Code, Title 13, Section 221a). Some have complained of being made to feel like criminals if they don't comply.

Such probing of people's affairs is certainly unwanted and unnecessary. This problem arose on account of the lack of guidance from Congress and the success of interest groups in pressuring the Census Bureau and specifying certain questions.

Most questions aid private enterprise and are nonessential to our government. In order to function, does our government need to know if a person has an air conditioner, the condition of his plumbing and if he shares his shower? I don't really think so. These are questions that simply require the taxpayers to conduct market research for private industry. They are questions for which the answers should be found through the use of private enterprise, such as research production centers and such firms, which have proven quite successful in their techniques.

Rep. Betts points out that many of the questions on the census form are not really essential to the operation of the government.

Monstrous Questionnaire

Why has such private enterprise been left out of the concept of information-gathering such as is undertaken by the Bureau of the Census? The skill and accuracy of these research firms refutes the argument that compulsion is the only way to secure such data. Why abandon volunteerism when it has been tested so little in recent years?

Another dilemma is the burden of such an extensive interrogation. As I've already pointed out, the census questionnaire has mushroomed from a simple five or six questions to 50 and into a monstrosity of over 20 pages in the proposed 1970 census. Such questionnaires are supposed to increase their accuracy, but the nuisance of it all may in fact decrease its accuracy.

During the last census, a newspaper report states that over five million people were uncounted, due to people avoiding the enumerator. The 1970 census will be even worse, since it will be handled solely through the mails, and prove even more cumbersome. Some will be overwhelmed with the detail and intricacy, others will set it aside and forget about it, and some might even throw it away. A few undoubtedly will be insulted, not because they are antagonistic to the basic and essential questions needed by the government, but because they object to the detailed trivia forced upon them.

With such numerous particulars cluttering up the questionnaire, the basic inquiries for population data will suffer as well. If we want to obtain minimum participation by all the citizens, the number of questions should be limited and stated in the simplest language possible. I cannot see how there will be any different results from the experience of 1960 if this forced approach is followed.

We must not delay assuming this responsibility, for the problem worsens daily. The proposed 1970 census is even more extensive than that of 1960, plus there is the possibility of compounding the situation by imposing another census every five years.

Last year the director of the Bureau of the Census discussed proposals to include such items as Social Security numbers, and religious and political affiliation, which could involve numerous implications. I am pleased that these specific inquiries have been deleted from consideration.

Federal Data Bank

The possibilities go beyond this, however, for intrusions upon privacy are not limited to the census. There has been little resistance to the infringement on privacy so far, particularly because the information obtained did not circulate too widely. But now there is the proposal for a Federal Data Bank, a computerized system that would develop a complete dossier on an individual that could cover his entire life.

The dimensions of this are momentous. Information is power and the government would have complete files on everything about a person within minutes after the push of a button.

The Data Center would consolidate the information now scattered among some 20 agencies, including such extensive agencies as the Civil Service Commission and the Internal Revenue Service. The Civil Service Commission is now operating a center to train almost 2,300 federal employes to induce maximum usable information from computer systems.

It is our duty to do something against encroachments where our citizens are unable to protect themselves. We have the means for drawing a boundary between the permissible and the undesirable. I have attempted to do this in a bill I introduced last week. I propose to streamline the population census so that it could be answered on a small 3" x 6" punch card that can be handled by a computer. This will not only facilitate handling, but promote accuracy through its simplicity.

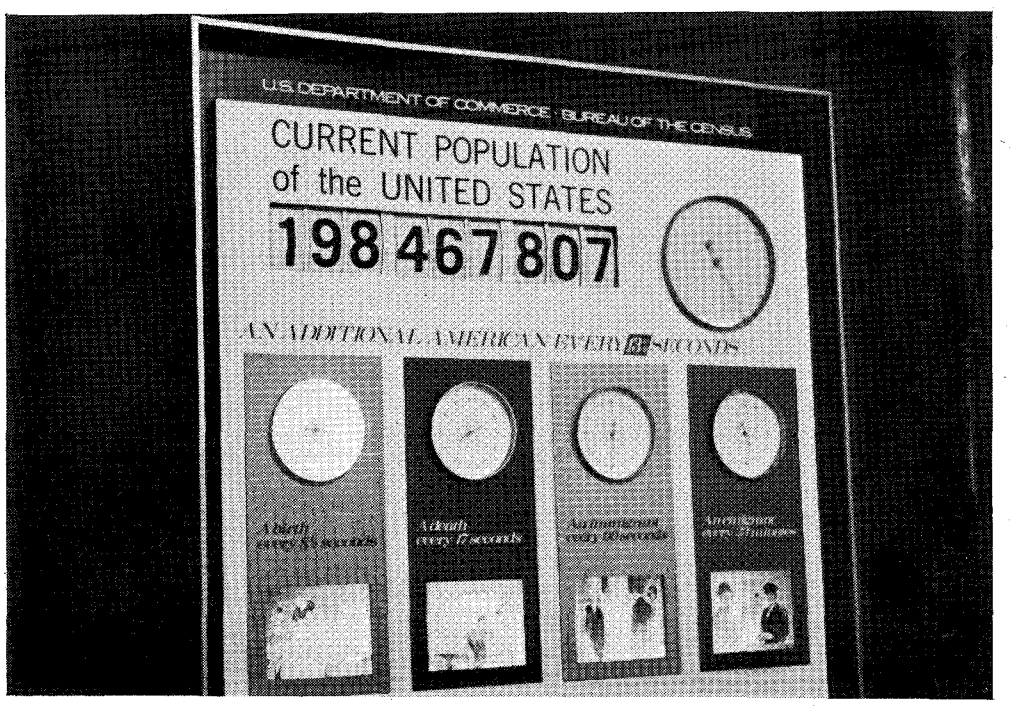
My bill will also assure congressional control over what may be asked in the census of population, as well as protect the rights of privacy of the individual in terms of what he must reveal about himself.

Limited Questions

This bill simply limits the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law in the decennial population censuses to those only essential to government for the purpose of apportionment. The individual must answer his name and address, relationship to head of household, sex, date of birth, race, marital status, and visitors in the house at the time of the census. If the census director wishes to include any other questions, they are to be voluntarily answered and without penalty or compulsion.

I introduced this bill to focus attention on the need for congressional initiative in determining the scope of decennial census questioning. In checking an index of legislation introduced in the 90th Congress, I find that no bill has been presented which raises any doubts as to the limits of the Bureau of the Census' authority to ask any questions it chooses at its own discretion. This bill will hopefully serve as a vehicle of discussion.

Many, I'm sure, will complain it is too stringent and its impact too far-reaching. But such a measure as this is needed to cause discussion, create debate and stimulate analysis as to the proper role of Congress in overseeing the decennial census of the population.



This sign in the lobby of the Commerce Department office building in Washington, D.C., ticks off the ever-increasing population of the United States.

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President Johnson announces the appointment of Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall as the next Supreme Court justice to replace the retiring Tom Clark.

Politics Still Dominate Selection of U.S. Justices

By WALTER TROHAN

The appointment of Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court of the United States serves to emphasize the politico-ethnic-religious considerations that have become an integral part of the court's composition.

Marshall was appointed because he is a Negro. No one questions this fact. This is not good or bad in itself, since Marshall is well known in the Negro community and has served in one of the nation's highest legal posts. He has been in charge of the presentation of the government's cases before the high tribunal.

He may not be the best qualified lawyer or even the best qualified Negro for the post. He was appointed because it was felt that the time had come to put a Negro on the court. Things being what they are, the seat he takes will become for some time the Negro seat on the court.

It is unfortunate that the principle of ethnic representation exists, but it does. In fact, it has existed for a long time. It has been thought necessary to have one place on the high court filled by a Catholic and one by a Jew. Geographical and political considerations also influence selections.

It would be ideal if such considerations were regarded as outmoded and appointments were made of the men best qualified by intellect, training and temperament to serve on the court, without regard to race, creed, color, political party, or domicile.

In fact, it would almost seem imperative that selection be made of the best man, not the most available man. The high court must consider cases of such delicate legal balance and fine constitutional interpretation that even the best-trained legal minds respond to them differently.

Were it not so, we could expect that cases would be decided by substantial majorities rather than 5-to-4 decisions. It is to be regretted, at times, that law is not an exact science upon which trained and reasonable men can agree.

This doesn't mean that it would be ideal for all decisions to be unanimous, as they are on Communist courts, but that the people would have more confidence in the high court if there could be more agreement on the finer points of law.

As it is, justices are sharply critical of one another in opinions. Most cases find the court turning out not only dissents but concurring opinions. The latter say, in effect, I agree with the decision but disagree with the reasoning by which you arrive at it.

With ethnic considerations an important factor in the selection of one-third of the court, the closest decisions could be subjected to misinterpretations. While it is possible that these reflect close and conscientous deliberation, they could also reflect an ethnic response or percentage of such response.

The high court has been criticized for legislating by decision. It has also been criticized for encouraging crime in its preoccupation with protection of individual rights of criminals at the expense of the rights of the law-abiding citizen.

Some Americans feel strongly on the subject and have talked of impeachment, which distresses *all* the justices on the high court. They are also distressed by the public examination of every decision by the voting of liberal and conservative blocs on the court, but if they divide into such blocs they can hardly blame the public.

The times demand the finest minds and highest integrity on the high court, but politics still dictates most of the choices.

(Copyright 1966, Chicago *Tribune*)

□ □ □

YOU FIGURE IT OUT—"Lebanon, Syria, Yemen, Mauritania, Algeria, Sudan, Iraq, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Egypt combined have received $2.2 billion in American economic and military aid since 1945. All those countries either have severed diplomatic relations with the United States or have announced they no longer will sell us oil. Israel, in the same period, has received $1.1 billion. You figure out which investment has brought a better return on our money."—From the Richmond *News Leader*

□ □ □

"BOBBY KENNEDY says he's behind Johnson for President in 1968—which may explain why Johnson keeps looking fearfully over his shoulder."—By Jack Wilson in the St. Louis *Globe Democrat*

Not for Mr. Carroll

A Right to Work?

By MIKE ENGLEMAN in the Dallas *Morning News*

Maurice Carroll of Natick, Mass., was a member of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen for 20 years. For 10 years, 1956 to 1966, he was president and legislative representative of Lodge 631.

In the summer of 1965 he testified before the Senate subcommittee on labor in favor of the retention in the Taft-Hartley Act of Section 14b—the right-to-work law.

Today he is without a job and a union.

The end began for Mr. Carroll on Jan. 20, 1966, when he and two other railroad employes (also BRT members) refused to operate a train they claimed was inadequately serviced. The three were fired. BRT officials intervened on behalf of Mr. Carroll's two partners, and the railroad reinstated them with unbroken seniority on March 1, 1966.

No similar effort was made on behalf of Mr. Carroll by the BRT.

On May 20, 1966, Mr. Carroll was expelled from the union for failure to pay his dues.

On June 1, 1966, Mr. Carroll's local unanimously voted that:

• He be allowed to retain his membership.

• An investigation be initiated to determine why he was expelled (when other delinquent members were not) and why he was the only one of the trio not rehired by the railroad.

Several days later the local formally requested that BRT send an international vice president to straighten out the problem. Mr. Carroll was notified that the BRT VP would meet with him on June 14. He did not show.

The next day, June 15, the vice president attended a meeting of the local. During this meeting, the local's members voted to expel Mr. Carroll from the BRT.

The vote was 5 for expulsion, 25 against.

The BRT constitution requires a majority vote within a local to expel a member. But Section 43 of the constitution, which outlines the procedures for the organization of a new local, allows three blackballs to keep a man out of the BRT. It was under the provisions of Section 43 that Mr. Carroll was stripped of his 20-year membership in the BRT.

Lodge 631, Mr. Carroll's local, was organized in 1921.

Since his expulsion, 200 members of three locals in his area (from a total membership of less than 500) have signed a petition requesting that Mr. Carroll be reinstated as a member of the BRT. They have been ignored.

Mr. Carroll has directly petitioned the BRT international president for readmission in the union. He was refused.

Now Mr. Carroll has filed suit against BRT officials and the railroad—New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Co.—asking that he be reinstated in his former job as a baggageman with back pay and be readmitted to his union.

He has been out of work for 16 months. Massachusetts is not a right-to-work state.

It's like the guy said: "Good unions don't need compulsory unionism and bad ones don't deserve it."

□ □ □

Freedom of Information

Although the new Freedom of Information Law providing greater public access to government information does not take effect until July 4, Rep. Donald Rumsfeld (R.-Ill.) observed last week that some federal agencies are already seeking to avoid its provisions.

"One agency is reportedly considering a plan to conduct much of its business verbally so that written documents and records will be impossible to obtain. Another agency is attempting to categorize everything under one or more of the law's nine exemptions so that virtually none of the information under its control will be available.

"These actions point to the fact that the new law will not work miracles overnight; it is no cure-all for secrecy in government. It is merely a tool—albeit a valuable one—to assist the public and the press in gaining access to information."

Rumsfeld, a member of the House Subcommittee on Government Information and one of the original sponsors of the new law, said the Department of Justice has prepared guidelines which will be available to federal agencies in rewriting their information regulations.

"The attitude reflected in the Justice Department's guidelines is a good sign . . . but, so far, the department's words are just that—so many words. It remains to be seen how far the federal government is willing to go in implementing these words, in transferring the rhetoric into results."

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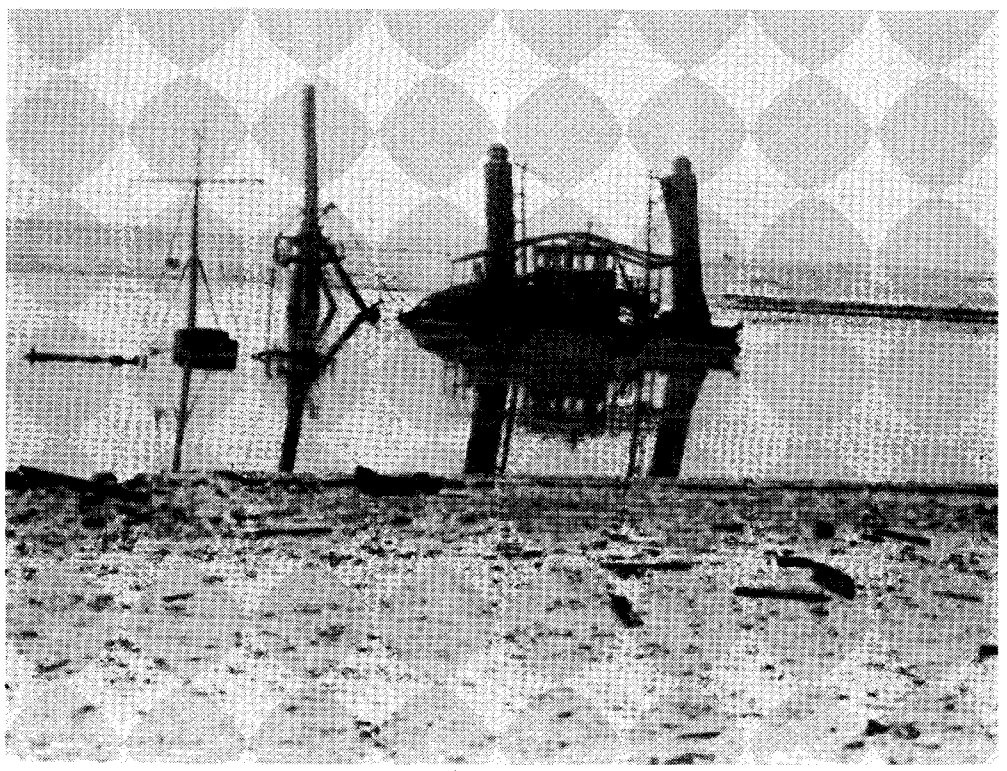

A ship allegedly sunk by Israeli air strikes lies at the bottom of the Suez Canal.

Proprietary Corporation

Solving Suez Canal Crisis

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

If the United Nations is really looking to a solution for the problem of users' access to the Suez Canal, why not recur to the proposition of non-political ownership?

Interestingly enough, Christopher Stone, a young law professor at the University of Southern California, thinks that a proprietary corporation might be a good approach to resolving all the great problems of the oceans, providing navigational services, regulating fishing rights, and developing underseas resources.

Prof. Stone happens to be the son of I.F. Stone, the leftist editor of *I.F. Stone's Weekly,* a Washington, D.C., publication which would scarcely find anything to commend in the proprietary idea. But the son, who is just as radical as his father, only in an opposite direction, may be on the track of something that could be applied as a starter to the Suez waterway.

As a matter of record, proprietary non-political ownership of the Suez was proposed back in the middle 1950s by a retired airplane propeller manufacturer named Spencer Heath. Mr. Heath's blueprint makes interesting reading today. It called for "the leading shipping interests who use the canal to form a Canal Owners Corporation to be chartered by each one and all" of the 18 or more governments, including Egypt, which were "most interested."

According to the Heath outline, the powers and limitations of the proprietary corporation were to be defined and agreed upon by the various governments, with Egypt being handsomely rewarded for its participation in a joint territorial sovereignty with cash payments from funds raised by the new corporation. The payments were to be guaranteed by all the interested governments in proportion to their original interest in establishing the charter.

Mr. Heath's suggestion, in the '50s, called for the issue of new Suez Corporation shares to pay for taking over the old equity rights in the canal. As of 1967 the equity rights, presumably, would be purchased from Egypt itself. But arrangements could be made to diffuse stock ownership in the new corporation to the ends of the earth, with allotments for sale in all the maritime nations. Mr. Heath thought a proprietary canal corporation would "make such profits that it could duplicate the canal," thus allowing for "one-way traffic both ways."

As a "solvent and stable business corporation," said Mr. Heath, "its shares would come into very wide demand . . . especially among those persons and corporations most engaged in commerce among the nations." There would be a "covenant of non-aggression against any of the tangible or intangible properties and rights of the new corporation."

Mr. Heath's proposition was dismissed as a pipe dream in the '50s. Presumably, it won't get anywhere as long as Nasser nourishes the dream of pushing Israel into the sea and closing out the Middle East to any nation that refuses to deal with an Arab monopoly of the Suez waterway.

Eventually, however, the Egyptians may get tired of Nasser's pursuit of glory. The Indonesians put up with Sukarno, their own Nasser, until he had run a potentially rich island empire into complete bankruptcy. Then they decided to get rid of him.

When disillusion sets in over Nasser's inability to put Egypt on the path to an economic development that will feed its steadily increasing population, some subsequent leader might be interested in creating a proprietary canal company that would take the issue of access to an international waterway out of politics.

There would be plenty of room for both Jew and Arab in the Middle East if only the political feuding could be brought to an end and commercial and industrial development be allowed to take over.

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Summer Jobs Go Begging

The Failing Work Ethic

From the Richmond *News Leader*

In a recent column in the Washington *Post*, William Raspberry reports that many jobs for poor youngsters are going begging in the Nation's Capital.

These jobs were created expressly for teen-agers whose family incomes fall below the poverty level. Raspberry reports that the National Capital Housing Authority last fall started a program aimed at discouraging dropouts. The NCHA's student aid program provided 154 jobs for youngsters of families living in public housing units; qualified teen-agers could earn $1.40 an hour for 16 hours of work weekly. However, despite an intense advertising campaign in public housing projects, only 98 youngsters asked for the jobs.

Moreover, the NCHA was willing to place 300 additional teen-agers in full-time summer jobs through the Neighborhood Youth Corps. To be eligible, an applicant need only be between the ages of 16 and 21 and be from a poor family.

As of June 1, only 43 eligible applicants had applied for the jobs. The situation is reminiscent of the reluctance of many teen-agers in Chicago to work in the Youth Corps last summer; they sneered at the offered pay of $75 a week.

Raspberry concludes that the poor response given these programs indicates that many youngsters in low-income families have little interest in productive jobs. He suggests that it should be a matter of priority that poverty fighters try to find out the reasons for this disinterest.

They probably wouldn't have to look very far to find out why many poor teen-agers spurn work. Many of the make-work jobs created for this group involve menial tasks, such as grounds maintenance and the like.

The pay of $1.40 an hour is hardly a princely sum, although it isn't a bad pay level for inexperienced teen-agers. However, in the past few decades the work ethic has undergone a significant erosion, so that menial tasks no longer have status. In many instances, such jobs are regarded as degrading. Everyone wants to start at the top, in a white collar job in an air-conditioned office, with fringe benefits and an ample salary.

Also, there should be little reason to expect youngsters reared in homes maintained by welfare benefits to accept productive employment. In most states, outside earnings are taxed at 100 per cent by commensurate deductions in welfare payments (concessions have been made in Washington to overcome this disadvantage, so the teen-agers there don't have the excuse).

Many impoverished youngsters have accepted the tradition of welfare. They have no aspirations to productive labor, for their tradition is one of dependency.

In order to break the welfare cycle and to create ambitions among poor teen-agers, it will be necessary first to teach them pride of accomplishment. A next step would call for realistic rules on outside earnings, by which youngsters would be encouraged to complement the family income.

Until these actions are taken, apathy among the children of the poor will continue to thrive, and Mr. Johnson's goal of making taxpayers out of tax-eaters never will be realized.

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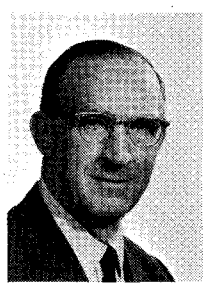
SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

State Dept. Failures

By REP. GEORGE GOODLING (R.-Pa.)



Like every other branch of the federal government, the Department of State has an advanced case of growing pains. Prior to World War II it had approximately 6,000 employes. Today there are 44,000 and growth continues. A knowledgeable columnist recently referred to the department as "bureaucratic experts in foreign foul-ups." The record indicates he probably has a point.

Before the war we traded with practically every nation on earth. We were liked and respected. Today there are some countries with whom we do not trade and have only limited trade with others. We are no longer loved but actually hated by many. Respect for us as a nation is rapidly disappearing.

We rescued Russia from a mad Hitler. We saved a proud France. We need only look at events today to show how grateful these two countries are. Russia is helping kill American boys in Viet Nam just as surely as if she were actually pulling the trigger. The war could not continue without her help. The French have unceremoniously thrown NATO out of their country. Our American troops were asked to leave their soil.

The State Department is largely responsible for our foreign aid giveaway program which in the past 20 years has amounted to more than $125 billion. No other nation in history has ever been so generous, nor has any nation reaped more insults and injuries. Our generosity has not resulted in gratitude.

The State Department is responsible for foreign policy and many ask what is our foreign policy? We have not advanced America and the American way in our attempt to benefit countries concerned. Possibly some of our representatives forget they are Americans when assigned to foreign soil.

The recent record of the department is not one of which we can be proud. Private enterprise could not long endure with so dismal a record. Possibly a re-appraisal and re-organization are past due. Let's replace dreamers with realists.

Mideast Perils

By SEN. PAUL FANNIN (R.-Ariz.)

The United Nations should not and legally cannot force Israel to accept a peace that does not guarantee lasting political stability in the Middle East. Israeli spokesmen have repeatedly stated that Israel has no interest in conquest—that once a stable peace is achieved most of the vast conquered territories, except strategic positions used by the Arabs over the years to carry out border raids, will be restored. (In addition, of course, Israel will assure itself of free passage through the Gulf of Aqaba and will insist, as it should, on its right to use the Suez Canal.) And—provided Israel's demands are not excessive or punitive—the United States and the free world should lend support. There is no discernible logic in demanding a restoration of the precise political balance that has brought war to the area three times in the past 19 years. The alternative is continuing bloodshed.

Spending Priorities

By REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

So far in this session of Congress the House of Representatives has considered and passed 11 bills from the Committee on Appropriations, leaving five yet to go. The House action on the bills so far passed represents 85 per cent of the President's requests for appropriations to operate the various departments of government. The thought has occurred to me that it is too bad that we don't pass in crucial years like these, the defense appropriations bill *before* acting on the money bills for other federal activities. For even though the House has so far done a commendable job in paring down the President's various requests by $3.039 billion, this is still not enough to offset what may be a deficit in this coming fiscal year of from $24 to $29 billion. A truly balanced federal budget in war years like this, of course, is impossible. Yet if the Congress were to act first on those money bills that are critical to the destiny of our country (and hence, the world), I feel certain a more concerted effort to hold the line on less critical spending would follow. After joining my colleagues in the near-unanimous approval of the defense appropriations bill, I find myself wishing I could take back some of my previous votes on appropriations bills for other programs.

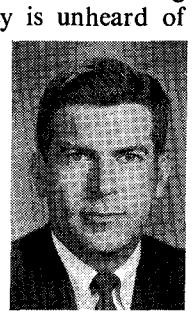
India's Gratitude

By REP. JAMES A. HALEY (D.-Fla.)

The foreign aid mish-mash which has replaced the Marshall Plan has had unfortunate consequences. It was misdirected United States aid to such despots as Egypt's Nasser which produced a bloody harvest of war and hate just this month. And instead of buying an unpurchasable commodity—friendship—for the United States, it has produced such things as Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's harsh attack on this country, an attack which reminds us that there is no abuse like that of an ungrateful beggar. Where India and her hungry millions would be without the compassionate support of this country must be as evident to Mrs. Gandhi as to anyone. Yet she had the temerity to choose Ambikapur—in an area of death-dealing famine where American organizations are providing food to supply 450,000 persons—to assail American foreign policy and to direct sneers at the American free enterprise system, which has been the source of unlimited aid to her distressed people. Moreover, she acclaimed Egypt's Nasser as a "force for progress." Mrs. Gandhi, however, has not yet threatened us with retribution for our generosity—perhaps by refusal to accept any further aid—but so irrational has been her position that she may do so yet.

Respect Authority

By REP. TOM MESKILL (R.-Conn.)



You might be interested in knowing that juvenile delinquency is unheard of among the Chinese. Law enforcement officials continually report that the Chinese-American teen-ager seldom gets involved with the law. Studies of this paradox have shown that the Chinese child is raised with a great respect for his ancestry. Each decision is made on the basis of whether or not it will please his parents. This sterling example of parental discipline and authority is instilled at a tender age. It is an undisputed fact that the Chinese-American community, even among the poor, has not experienced the problems of juvenile delinquency so prevalent elsewhere in our country. Would we have so many teen-age junkies, car thieves, flag burners, if we all instilled this respect in our young?

Nat'l. Debt Interest

By REP. JAMES F. BATTIN (R.-Mont.)

Right now the national debt is a bookkeeping exercise, but the interest that has to be paid on it is strikingly real. The interest on the debt in fiscal year 1967 is $13.5 billion. Next year it will rise to $14.2 billion. The interest is dead money each year which must be paid by taxpayers before anything else is allocated. This vast unproductive sum of money makes the debt real and proves that it isn't "just money we owe ourselves." *The interest alone on the national debt is more than the federal government spends on the Departments of State, Labor, Interior, Justice, Commerce and Agriculture, plus the Atomic Energy Commission, combined. It is also more money than the total cost of the federal government as recently as 1941. The past two Administrations can't be blamed for the entire increase in the cost and size of the public debt, but they can be blamed for allowing the debt to spiral to its present almost unmanageable state.*

Raise Tax Exemption

By REP. PAUL FINO (R.-N. Y.)

The tax burden of the small taxpayer, while eased by the recent tax cut, still remains too heavy. I propose that as a step in the right direction each taxpayer receive exemptions of $1,000, instead of the present $600, for himself, his spouse, any dependents and the additional exemptions for old age and blindness. This would reduce the taxable income—and thus the tax burden—of the small taxpayer by a considerable degree. While an increase in personal exemptions of the sort I propose would cut several billion dollars off federal revenues, previous experience indicates that tax cuts quickly result in increased consumer spending, greater production, more employment and thus larger government revenues than the lower rates would previously have produced. Besides, we could trim foreign aid and the poverty program. As far as I am concerned, the average taxpayer is paying too high a percentage of his income to the government. I strongly urge that the Congress take steps against this by raising the personal income tax exemption.

'Nay' Votes on Flag Bill

On June 20, 210 Democrats and 175 Republicans in the House of Representatives joined to pass a bill sponsored by Rep. Byron Rogers (D.-Colo.) making it a federal crime to desecrate the American flag. (Many other congressmen of both parties sponsored similar bills.) Sixteen liberal Democrats did not go along. Those voting against the bill were: Richard Bolling (Mo.), Phillip Burton (Calif.), Emanuel Celler (N.Y.), John Conyers (Mich.), John Culver (Iowa), John Dow (N.Y.), Bob Eckhardt (Tex.), Don Edwards (Calif.), Donald Fraser (Minn.), Henry Gonzalez (Tex.), William Hathaway (Me.), Augustus Hawkins (Calif.), Patsy Mink (Hawaii), Benjamin Rosenthal (N.Y.), William Fitts Ryan (N.Y.) and James Scheuer (N.Y.).

Why LBJ's Silence on ABM System?

By REP. CHARLES M. TEAGUE (R.-Calif.)

In his State of the Union message to Congress last January, President Johnson said he wanted to work out an agreement with the Soviet Union that would make it unnecessary for the United States to build an anti-ballistic missile system.

According to news dispatches at that time, Llewellyn Thompson, United States ambassador to Russia, was assigned the task of pursuing such an agreement with the Russian leaders.

Subsequently, the President included $375 million in his budget for the coming 1968 fiscal year to start production of a missile defense system in case Thompson failed to reach an agreement.

The difficulty of his task has been generally conceded because it is acknowledged that the Soviet Union has, for some time, been deploying its own anti-ballistic missiles. Thus, Thompson's job essentially is to persuade the Russians to stop, or at least to limit, the deployment. If the Russians agreed to this, with appropriate inspection rights, presumably the United States would agree either to build no missile defense system at all, or only a minor one.

But more than five months have now passed and there has been almost total silence from the White House on Thompson's negotiations with the Russians. At a news conference last month, President Johnson did say that he still hoped for progress, but he added to reporters: "I don't want to paint a rosy picture only to have you remind me about it at the next meeting."

This treatment of a very serious problem is not only discouraging, but alarming. Time is not on our side, and too much time already has been wasted. Since we know that the other side is constantly engaged in expansion of both its offensive and defensive missile systems, it must be obvious to all that it is to their advantage to indefinitely stall discussions on any agreement.

We should long ago have set a deadline for reaching an agreement. The longer we give the Soviet Union, the nearer approaches a day when the Russians can issue an ultimatum, with assurance that they are prepared and we are not.

The American people have a right to ask the Administration: "What do you propose to do if the Russians continue to stall on an agreement?"

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Words No Match for Steel

Illusion Yields to Reality in the Middle East

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The President's address on June 19, laying down five principles for peace in the Middle East, was among his better efforts. Mr. Johnson was constructive, temperate, reasonable; his familiar Bible Class accents exuded an earnest goodness; he gave no offense to any man.

Yet listening to his speech, and reflecting upon the thunderclap events of recent weeks, one felt a sense of smog returning. It is the feeling that overwhelms a man as he listens to the debates of the U.N.'s General Assembly. Soft words, in the end, are simply no match for cold steel. When illusion collides head-on with reality, illusion gets the worst of it every time.

That is the abiding lesson the Israelis have taught the world once more. There comes a point, in the affairs of men and nations, at which the loftiest precepts and the most virtuous principles no longer suffice. At such a point, sheer self-interest takes over; talk stops; and the gauzy illusions of justice yield to the hard realities of power.

Such moments can have an awful value. For good or ill, they clear the air. Nothing thereafter can be quite the same. Harry Truman went through this experience 22 years ago, when he gave the command that led to Hiroshima. It was a moment of unspeakable agony, but agony is among the realities that mankind has had to endure. And the Japanese surrendered.

Nikita Khrushchev went through such a crisis of self-interest in October 1956. If the Hungarian revolution had succeeded, the whole of the Soviet satellite system would have been endangered. While the Western world temporized, he acted with ruthless speed. And that was the end of the revolution.

History abounds with such examples, and some we see as good, some evil; it is all in the eye of the beholder. Jefferson summed it up in our own Declaration of Independence. As a general proposition, the rule of prudence holds sway, for men are more disposed to suffer "while evils are sufferable," than to take up arms. But there comes a time when a long train of abuses no longer can be tolerated—when petitions, appeals and remonstrances go unheeded, and nothing remains but to face the reality that results when nations are "enemies at war."

So, too, with the Israelis. For 20 years, except for the abortive incident of 1956, they stoically endured the incessant threats of their Arab neighbors. They minded their own business, tilled their crops, industrialized their land, exercised the uses of diplomacy. Then came Nasser's overt action in closing the Strait of Tiran, and the evils no longer were sufferable.

Does anyone now imagine that Israel, having won this amazing war, will let herself be put in the same position of jeopardy again? Does any realist imagine that all the debating teams of the United Nations will alter the lessons of history that Israel has applied? It is pipedream stuff to suppose that "world peace through world law" can ever be made superior to the self-interest of a nation imperiled.

Mr. Johnson's first principle was that every nation in the area has a right to national life, and in theory this is fine, but it is a theory that flies in the teeth of world history. A nation's right to survive depends ultimately on its power to make that right respected.

Another of the President's principles was that the right of innocent passage of international waterways must be preserved. Again, the principle is fine. But in the immediate application of that principle, Israel will insist upon having a hand herself in preserving her rights to passage in the Gulf of Aqaba.

By the same token, few men will question the desirability of halting the arms race in the Middle East. But it is nonsense to suppose that victorious Israel will submit to any settlement that diminishes her own military power. Conquest is a fact of international life, recognized in law no less than history. The major powers, having lived by these rules, cannot reasonably apply a different rule to Israel.

The President's conciliatory statement, in vivid contrast to the Russians' bellicosity, represents the ideal which civilized men should strive for. Peace, compassion, non-violence, territorial integrity, political independence, respect for the rights of other nations—these are the goals. They must be constantly pursued. But the pursuit surely will be vain if it fails to give account to the certainty that insufferable evils ultimately will be resisted by force. War is hell, all right; the United States is grimly aware of it. But war is history, too.

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Who Pays for Defaults?

How East-West Trade Has Disappointed Germans

By DUMITRU DANIELOPOL in the Joliet (Ill.) *Herald-News*

Bonn:—If you want facts, not fantasy, about East-West trade ask the Germans.

Ever since Bismarck, the Germans have sent their merchants east and south in search of markets. Twice they sought by war what they couldn't gain peacefully.

Here in Bonn, I spent hours talking to top experts on German trade with the Soviet satellites. The picture is not reassuring for Washington's bridge-builders.

"These countries are short of hard currencies to pay for their imports," said a speaker at the Ministry of Commerce. "They do their best to pay with goods, but their best is not good enough."

For example, Rumania's trade deficit with Germany is snowballing.

In 1965 it was 170 million German marks. (There are four marks to the dollar.) The deficit in 1966 was of 200 million marks ($50 million).

"In the first quarter of 1967 it grew by another 200 million marks," said Dr. H. Neudorfer, the ministry's expert on Rumanian trade. "It is now 570 million, and it is bound to grow. There is little the Rumanians have to sell."

The same situation has developed in Germany's trade with Bulgaria.

A deficit which stood at 60 million marks in 1965 has grown beyond 300 million and will go higher as Bulgarian credits come to maturity.

The German government is beginning to worry. The credits extended to Iron Curtain countries by German firms are all state guaranteed.

This is done through the private Hermes Insurance Co., which itself is guaranteed against loss by the government. The firm grants insurance only on credits approved by Bonn.

In other words, it is the German taxpayer who will foot the bill in case of default, just as the American taxpayer will do when President Johnson's policy of granting Export-Import Bank credit collapses.

The German trade patterns to the East are not uniform.

Poland and Russia are exporting more to Germany than they import from this country.

"What kind of goods do you get?" I asked.

"From Rumania about one third is composed of agricultural products, but Bucharest is running into trouble with the new Common Market restrictions. Rumania also sells Germany some chemicals and some machinery.

"Rumania no longer has oil products nor timber in any substantial quantity for export," said Neudorfer.

These were the country's prime natural resources before Soviet exploitation began.

From Bulgaria Germany imports mostly tobacco and some food products.

What can these two satellites do to meet their trade deficits?

"Well, there is of course the tourist traffic which brings these countries some hard currencies," said Neudorfer.

How much?

"Rumanian tourism brought in 30 million marks in 1966 from Germany alone," he said. "But Bucharest can spend this money anywhere. It doesn't have to be applied to our deficits."

With a trade deficit which might reach one billion marks by the end of this year, 30 million marks is a drop in the bucket.

The Rumanians are also offering steel on the international market, which they sell at a price far below cost of production.

What are the prospects for American trade with the Soviet bloc?

The German trade experts are cautious because they understand the political aspects of the question, but one said:

"I don't see very much that America can buy from them, and in any case the volume of goods they would be able to export to the U.S.A. is infinitesimal. The American market would not tolerate the shoddy workmanship."

The quality of goods produced by the satellites is so poor that even the Soviet Union is beginning to complain.

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